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THE TRAVELS AND
ADVENTURES
OF CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

The True Travels and Adventures of Captain John Smith

INTO EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA
AND AMERICA

From Anno Dom. 1593 to 1629

Edited, with an Introduction, by

ALEX. J. PHILIP

Author of "Gravesend: the Water-gate of London"



LONDON

GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS LIMITED

NEW YORK: E. P. DUTTON & CO

To the RIGHT HONOURABLE
WILLIAM Earl of *PEMBROKE*

Lord Steward of his Majesty's most
Honourable Household

ROBERT Earl of *LINDSEY*

Great Chamberlain of ENGLAND

HENRY Lord *HUNSDON*

Viscount ROCHFORD, Earl of DOVER

AND

All your HONOURABLE FRIENDS

and WELL-WILLERS

MY LORDS,

SIR ROBERT COTTON, that most learned treasurer of antiquity, having by perusal of my "General History," and others, found that I had likewise undergone divers other as hard hazards in the other parts of the world, requested me to fix the whole course of my passages in a book by itself; whose noble desire I could not but in part satisfy; the rather, because they have acted my fatal tragedies upon the stage, and racked my relations at their pleasure. To prevent therefore all future misprisions, I have compiled this true discourse. Envy hath taxed me to have writ too much, and done too little; but that such should know how little I esteem them, I have writ this more for the satisfaction of my friends, and all generous and well disposed readers. To speak only of myself were intolerable ingratitude; because, having had so many co-partners with me, I cannot make a monument for myself, and leave them unburied in the fields,

whose lives begot me the title of a soldier : for as they were companions with me in my dangers, so shall they be partakers with me in this tomb.

For my "Sea-Grammar" (caused to be printed by my worthy friend Sir Samuel Saltonstall) hath found such good entertainment abroad, that I have been importuned by many noble persons, to let this also pass the press. Many of the most eminent warriors, and others, what their swords did, their pens writ. Though I be never so much their inferior, yet I hold it no great error to follow good examples ; nor repine at them [who] will do the like.

And now, My most Honourable good Lords, I know not to whom I may better present it than to your lordships, whose friendships, as I conceive, are as much to each others, as my duty is to you all ; and because you are acquainted both with my endeavours and writings, I doubt not but your honours will as well accept of this, as of the rest, and patronize it under the sha-

dow of your most noble virtues, which I am ever bound in all duty to reverence, and under which I hope to have shelter against all storms that dare threaten.

Your Honours to be commanded,

JOHN SMITH.

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INTRODUCTION

CAPTAIN SMITH was a typical character of his time, compounded of the roving spirit of the contemporaries of Sir Francis Drake, and tempered with the greater respect for law and order which succeeded the defeat of the power of Spain. He suffers under the stigma of two accusations: one, common to many men of his period, of being an unmitigated liar; the other, of not being the author of his *Travels and adventures*. It appears probable that the latter is true enough, but the former may be denied in the same large manner in which it is made. The first part of the present book deals only with his own experiences; and he frankly admits that he is the editor, and nothing more, of the second part which he describes as 'observations.' The reason for repudiating his authorship is to be found in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*. That entrancing collection of voyages and travels contained an account of Smith's adventures in Europe from the pen of a foreign writer; and his *Travels*, written in 1629, and published in the following year, are practically an adaptation of that. This may account in some measure for the use of the third person, although the practice was common enough at the time. But it will be noticed that on one or two occasions Smith accidentally slips into the use of the

first person. The admission of this goes a long way to disproving the first accusation ; and other proofs of his veracity are to be adduced in great numbers, although they are more applicable to the *General History* than to the *Travels and adventures*. It is impossible at this late date to find with any certainty the cause of the delay which occurred in publishing the work. As has been stated already, it was completed in 1629, but it was not issued until some months later, in 1630. A new edition with much of the spelling modernized to suit the time was published in Churchill's collection in 1732 ; this was reprinted in 1744, and again in 1752. An American edition was published at Richmond, U.S.A., in 1819. The last English edition was contained in Arber's English Scholar's Library, issued in 1844 ; although Messrs. Maclehose have in the press, at the time of writing, a large and costly edition.

Smith was, comparatively, a voluminous writer. His chief work is undoubtedly the *General History of Virginia*, but the *Travels and adventures* is probably his most interesting book.

Smith was born in 1580. His father, George Smith, was a farmer of good standing. George Smith and his wife Alice, had three children—John, Francis and Alice. John attended the Grammar School at Alford, possibly with as much reluctance as would be expected from a high-spirited boy filled

with an ardour for an adventurous life at sea. Later on he was sent to Louth and attended the Grammar School there until he was fifteen years old. He had just resolved to run away to sea when his father died. His mother's death followed soon after, and the three orphans were left under the guardianship of George Mettham, who occupied the position of trustee and executor. It was at this time that John was apprenticed to a shipping merchant of King's Lynn, named Sendall. There seems to have been some misunderstanding if not actual deceit over this, as Smith had expected to be sent to sea, while all he found at King's Lynn was a seat in the office. The confinement was insupportable, and he soon returned to Willoughby without taking formal leave of his employer. He found his guardian had gone to London, and set out on foot to follow him. On his way he fell in with Peregrine Bertie, the son of Lord Willoughby, who was on his way to Orleans to meet his brother. It was arranged that John should join the company. Arriving in London, Smith found his guardian was, if anything, rather glad to see the last of him, but he could not be persuaded to allow John more than ten shillings of the money he held in trust. At the age of fifteen or sixteen years, Smith was thus fairly launched upon his travels with this modest fortune in his pocket.

Europe was in a state of turmoil and our hero found plenty of opportunities of improving his fortune and increasing his experience, although his success was mixed with a great deal of misfortune. This period of his life is described more or less fully in the *Travels and adventures*.

It has been denied that he defeated the three Turks. But there is no doubt that he obtained the patent he describes from Sigismund, in fact it still exists ; and that he used the badge of the three Turks' heads as his 'coat.' This period carries us to the year 1604.

On his return to England he visited King's Lynn, and Willoughby, where Robert Bertie, elder brother of Peregrine, was now Lord of the Manor. After this he went on a walking tour in Ireland. It has been stated that he did this as a tramp, begging his way from village to village, and from town to town ; but as he had still a large sum at his disposal, and was probably receiving a rent for his farm, it is difficult to find any reason for this mendicity, and the story may be dismissed.

Another year was spent in obtaining information of the 'New lands' and in rousing an enthusiasm in those who could help him with his schemes of colonization. The king granted a charter to the Company in 1606 ; and a Council was formed for Virginia, while another, and perhaps a more

powerful one held its deliberations in London. In this way the London Virginia Company was formed with a brilliant list of shareholders. The best part of another year was spent in fitting out three ships: the *Susan Constant*, the *Godspeed* and the *Discovery*, a pinnacle of twenty tons. The total tonnage of the three vessels was only one hundred and sixty tons. Captain Newport of the *Susan Constant* was 'Admiral' of the fleet. The colonists numbered about one hundred. Some few of them were artizans, but many of them were gentlemen, with a plentiful sprinkling of ne'er-do-weels. Smith had sold the farm at Willoughby and invested the whole of his wealth in the venture. On December 19, 1606, the three ships sailed down the Thames, carrying sealed orders from the Council. Adverse winds confined them to the Channel until well into 1607. Bickering between Smith and the Admiral led to quarrelling. Smith, being in a minority, was put into irons; and at Nevis, Newport erected a gallows with the object of hanging him; but the execution did not take place. The fleet sailed leisurely past the West Indies, stopping at the various islands to trade and for refreshment. On April 25, 1607, they landed on Virginian soil, in Chesapeake Bay. The landing party was assailed by the Indians, but these were easily dispersed by the noise of the muskets. The sealed orders were then

opened, and it was found that Smith's name figured on the list of those who were to form the Council in Virginia.

The colonists fixed upon a spot for the settlement, and purchased the land with a hatchet. The plantation was named James Town, after James I ; and the river, one of the four emptying into Chesapeake Bay, was called James River. An exploring party was sent out immediately. The country on both sides of the river pleased them as much as their first glimpse of it had done, but during the absence of the party the Indians made an attack on the settlers—killing one, and wounding several others.

Captain Newport sailed away from the new colony with the *Susan Constant* and the *Godspeed*, on June 22.

The climate soon brought on fever amongst the struggling colonists. Their misery was still further increased by the enmity of the Indians, and the scarcity of food. The voyage out had taken longer than had been expected and their stores were low ; and what food remained had suffered from its long packing ; but this was eked out with such fish and game as they could catch, and such grain as they could beg from the Indians. Quarrels again broke out. Wingfield, who had been elected President, was deposed and imprisoned ; and Ratcliffe, who had commanded the pinnace, was elected in his place. Rendall was hanged for con-

spiracy with Wingfield. And from these and other causes their numbers were reduced within a short time by about half. Smith's influence now became paramount in the colony ; better relations were established with the Indians, and Smith effected exchanges with them for corn and food of other descriptions.

Shortly after, Smith headed a party to explore the Chikahominy, a tributary of James River ; but his companions were killed and he himself made a prisoner by Opechancanough. He was kept in the Indian village for some time, while the medicine men were endeavouring to discover whether he were a friend or an enemy. Eventually the prisoner was brought before Powhatan, a territorial potentate who occupied the position of lord over the smaller chieftains. This was at Werowocomoco on the Pamunkey, but not far distant from James Town.

Smith was condemned to death by Powhatan. Pocahontas, the chief's favourite daughter, whose interesting figure now enters the story, interceded for the captive without avail. His head was laid on the stone preparatory to his execution when the young Indian girl rushed forward and covered him. Powhatan could not kill his own daughter in this way, and so Smith's life was saved. His release was promised on the condition that two of the culverins at the

fort should be given to the braves, who would accompany him to James Town. As Smith had expected, however, the Indians were unable to carry away the cannon, and he gave them, instead, a quantity of beads and ornaments.

During his captivity the colony had gone from bad to worse. Less than forty men remained, and these were starving. A number of them had captured the pinnace and were preparing to take the risks of the sea, but Smith threatened to sink the boat with shot if they carried out their plan. This so enraged the opposition party that they resolved to hang Smith. During the few hours intervening between the sentence and its execution he increased his following so much that he was able to arrest several of his enemies and put them in irons. So the balance of power shifted from one party to the other with startling rapidity and uncertainty.

On several occasions after this Pocahontas headed bands of braves who brought food to the colonists ; and a short time later Newport returned with a hundred emigrants and a quantity of stores.

The relations between Smith, who certainly knew more than the whole of the Council, and some of the settlers, did not improve. The Indians were emboldened by the want of firmness shown them in their dealings with the white men, which they

thought was caused by fear, and began to steal. No steps were taken to punish them and the evil culminated in a fight between Smith, assisted by several of his neighbours, and a party of braves. Several of these were captured, but were ultimately released at the request of Pocahontas.

The second ship, the *Phoenix*, had arrived with a party of mineralogists who had been instructed to search for gold ; so that, in addition to the other trials to which the young colony was subjected, the gold fever now assailed it—although the infection came from the London Council, whose desire for dividends had been inflamed by wild stories of gold discoveries elsewhere, chiefly in South America.

During this period, voyages of discovery were undertaken in Chesapeake Bay and the rivers running into it, with the result that their knowledge of the country was extended, at the same time that their admiration for its resources was increased. Towards the end of 1608 Newport again arrived. This time his batch of emigrants contained, besides the usual number of useless gentlemen, soap-makers and glass blowers procured from Holland by the London Company. They were disappointed that no gold was found, and that no dividends had been paid ; and looked to the colonists to take to soap-making and glass-blowing for the purpose of making them some return on their outlay.

The colonists, on their part, had not been able to grow enough corn to last them through the coming winter ! Smith, who, whatever his official position may have been at any time, virtually made himself the most important member of the Council and of the small community, was particularly disappointed. He had disagreed entirely with the London Council's idea of looking for gold, and was clamorous for farmers, husbandmen, and agriculturists of all kinds.

Powhatan's ideas of his own importance were unduly increased by King James at this time. The King, probably misled by the appellation of 'Emperor,' which was so unfortunately bestowed upon the Indian chief, sent him a copper-gilt crown, a royal robe, and some presents. These, according to the royal instructions, were bestowed upon Powhatan, at the same time that he was anointed. The second occasion upon which Pocahontas was the means of saving the life of Smith, and, at this time of his companions, arose in some measure from this injudicious interference.

Powhatan refused corn to the settlers who were still in sore straits, except at the prohibitive price of swords and muskets. Smith was up the Pamunkey with some others on a trading expedition, and, in spite of the fact that the settlement would be soon on short rations and they had been unable to purchase anything approaching the amount

of corn they required, were prepared to return to James Town in the morning. In the darkness Pocahontas came to warn the unsuspecting expedition of an intended attack. Smith was able to let Powhatan's braves know that their plans were discovered, with the result that the expected raid did not take place. Another cause contributing to Powhatan's altered bearing to the settlers was the treachery of the Dutch. These workers were engaged in building an 'English' house with windows, for the chief, and possibly with some idea of obtaining possession of the fort and of the colony, persuaded Powhatan to attack James Town. They also supplied the chief with arms, which they had stolen from the colonists' stores, for the fight.

Smith was considered by all the savages to be the head of the colony, and by some of them, to be endowed with more than natural powers. It was therefore necessary to kill or capture him before attempting anything further. This was arranged; but Smith and his fifteen men outwitted the seven hundred braves who had been sent against them. Other attempts were made to secure him, but without success. One of the Dutchmen who had left the fort was captured in the woods. He was at once imprisoned and Captain Smith himself sallied out to deal with the braves who were in the surrounding forest awaiting to attack the town, after an ineffectual attempt to disperse them

had been made by the colonists under another leader. Two other Dutchmen who had been instrumental in fomenting the enmity of the Indians escaped, but it was a long time before the Indians made any other organized attack on the settlers.

The Colony now entered on a new phase of its existence. A larger charter was obtained from James I, and Lord Delaware was appointed Governor of the Colony. The result of all this, so far as the Virginians were concerned, was that seven vessels, out of nine which had sailed in May, dropped anchor in Chesapeake Bay in August, 1609, with five hundred colonists on board.

Smith had no wish to leave the Colony, in spite of the false reports his enemies had given the Council in London, and in all probability would have continued to hold his influential position for many years. But, next month, he was accidentally or intentionally blown up by the explosion of a bag of gunpowder. He was on the river at the time, and immediately jumped overboard. This extinguished the flames, and some of his men rescued him from the water, but his injuries were terrible; and the fact that there was not a doctor amongst the colonists will give a good idea of the way in which the settlers were selected. In spite of this his condition improved. When it was seen that he would recover, it is stated that an attempt was made to assassinate

him. But the murderer lacked the courage to carry out the work and Smith returned to England in the following month, hoping to obtain proper medical attention before it was too late.

Pocahontas, who worshipped Smith perhaps as much as the others of her tribe feared him, came to James Town when she heard of his accident; but she was told he was dead, and a newly made grave was pointed out to her as his. To some extent this lost the settlers the support of one of their most powerful friends.

The Colony, at the time of Smith's departure, numbered about five hundred, and had nothing to fear from the Indians. But they soon fell back into their old improvident ways. They ate their stock animals, used the corn lavishly and even carelessly, and, becoming idle, neglected the labour necessary to keep the colony together. This quickly led to a shortness of provisions. Powhatan became acquainted with their condition, and refused to trade himself, and would not permit any of the other chiefs to supply the colonists with food. They were soon reduced to sore straits, and out of the five hundred only sixty were left after what was pathetically termed the 'starving time.' Lord Delaware, who had been weather-bound at Bermuda, sent Sir Thomas Gates ahead in May to prepare for his coming. All he found were these sixty gaunt and broken

men, who clamoured to be taken away from what had been a flourishing colony, but was then only the cemetery of the best of their settlers and of all their hopes. Gates acceded to their demands. But they were not far on their way before Lord Delaware's ships were descried. Sir Thomas Gates turned back with them, and the Colony started on a fresh lease of life.

James Town at this time contained sixty well-built houses protected by the fort, and a church, besides the courthouse and the store. In addition there were a number of outlying settlements.

Smith had a prosperous voyage back to England. And when he was recovered found himself if neither famous nor infamous at all events very well known. The players of the day seized upon his adventures or such of them as had reached England for the exercise of their histrionic powers. On the whole it may be said that his popularity predominated.

Four years later, in 1614, Smith set out with two ships, 'found' by himself and four other adventurers, to explore the country farther north. They sailed slowly along the coasts of what are now Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine. This he called New England. The Admiral, for such was the title given Smith by virtue of his command, returned to England. Here his glowing accounts of New

England were discredited by his enemies, and by those whose interests might suffer by the new colony; but Smith succeeded in interesting Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I, in the country.

In 1615 Smith again set out with an expedition in two ships for New England, with the definite object of founding another colony. When they were out of port but a short time they were overtaken by very bad weather, and the larger ship was disabled. The other proceeded on her way, but Smith's vessel put back into Plymouth. To avoid the delay which would have been incurred by waiting for the ship to be repaired, Smith hired a smaller vessel. The voyage still continued unfortunate. They soon fell in with an English privateer of a much larger size, but were allowed to escape, as many of Smith's former men were on board. Later on they were chased by two French privateers, but evaded these by superior speed. On both occasions, however, Smith had difficulty with the crew, and particularly with the sailing master and mate who had been engaged to return with the vessel to England. The last misfortune of the voyage—and probably the most serious Smith ever encountered—occurred soon after. They fell in with a fleet of French men-of-war with letters of marque cruising about on the outlook for Spaniards. These pretended to find a pirate

in Smith's little barque. The Admiral would have fought but his officers refused the risk, with the result that his small vessel was plundered and he himself made a prisoner. Some days later the Frenchmen realized, partly on account of Smith's representations, that their action could not be defended, and might lead to trouble. The vessel was therefore refitted. But Smith missed many of his goods and returned to the French admiral's ship to demand them. In the meantime Chambers, his sailing master, and Miller, the mate, induced the French to kidnap Smith, and they themselves returned to Plymouth.

Smith cruised about with the French for several months—a captive in the cabin when the object of the chase was an English vessel, and forced to fight the guns when it was a Spaniard. Several rich prizes were captured and Smith relied on the Frenchman's promise to set him on the road to England or ashore in the Azores. Instead of this, however, the French admiral informed him that he would be accused of piracy and of sacking and burning a town in French Canada, to prevent his making any detrimental statement. Smith was offered the choice of pleading guilty and trusting to the services of the French admiral for his release or the mitigation of his sentence, or of a long term of imprisonment. There was little doubt that he would be con-

victed in any event. While he was considering this offer he succeeded in making his escape close to the shores of France, during a storm. The small boat was driven on to the beach close to the Charente. Smith was unconscious, but was revived by the fishermen who found him. He learned afterwards that the greater part of the French fleet was wrecked, and a large number of men, including the admiral, drowned.

He lodged a complaint with the Admiralty Courts and succeeded in obtaining damages. He returned to England, and on the charge he laid against them, Chambers and Miller were imprisoned.

Smith again essayed to go out to New England. But latterly he appeared to have fallen upon ill luck. The twenty ships he had been promised dwindled to four, and these were detained so long in Plymouth waiting for a fair wind that it was too late in the season to make a start. They were therefore unloaded, and were never got together again.

After this reverse he devoted himself to his pen. He continued writing and giving advice to those who needed it on questions concerning the colonies, but he did not accompany any other expeditions which were sent out to the lands he had helped to discover and explore. Virginia began to thrive as soon as the bankruptcy of the London Company freed her from the tyranny of the home Council.

Smith died on June 21, 1631, and was buried in St Sepulchre's Church, Holborn.

Pocahontas, or Matoaka as she was more properly named, was one of the most interesting of all those connected with Smith, and her story is one of the most romantic. Even if a large allowance is made for Smith's possible colouring, enough remains to arouse pity and admiration for the Indian girl.

Lord Delaware had returned to England on account of his bad health, and Sir Thomas Dale and Sir Thomas Gates had taken his place. The Indians were not friendly. Powhatan never came near the settlement, but his braves constantly stole the best of the English arms and conveyed them to the wily chief. Neither of these governors of the colony would sally out, because they feared the Council in London which was firmly convinced that the Indians required kindly treatment. But Captain Argall, who arrived with a store ship from England in 1612, succeeded in capturing Pocahontas by a subterfuge. The Princess was detained in James Town as a hostage for the return of the prisoners and arms her father Powhatan had stolen and captured. Even this was not sufficient to make Powhatan come to terms, and Matoaka remained in James Town adopting the manners and dress of the women of the colony. In 1614 she was baptized as Rebecca and married to John Rolfe, a colonist, from an old Norfolk family,

whose first wife had died after their voyage to Virginia in 1610. Nearly two years later Rolfe, Lady Rebecca, and their little son Thomas came to England. She had done much to promote friendly relations with the Indians in the early days, and her marriage was calculated to do still more for the colony in the future. Possibly for that reason and also because she was an emperor's daughter—although it is more than probable that King James had no idea of the condition of old Powhatan—she was presented at court and made much of by those who knew her story; and there were few who did not know it, as Smith had written a short account of her life. Smith who had still a comfortable income, was residing at Brentford, and a visit was arranged from the Princess, it is said, as a surprise to her. And as she believed Smith dead, although it is difficult to understand how she was not undeceived on her landing in England, the touching story still lives, that she gazed at him speechless for a time and then ejaculated 'Father!' The sudden revulsion of feeling is said to have broken her heart. Possibly this, but certainly the change from the free air of the forest to the stench of London of the time undermined her health.

The *George* was lying off Gravesend waiting to sail for Virginia. It is not known whether Pocahontas was on board at London or if she went to Gravesend by road, as was

frequently done, and boarded the ship there. It is even supposed that the vessel was some way down the river, and although bodies might be buried 'at sea' below Gravesend, put back. At all events the following entry is found in the register of the Gravesend parish church :

'March 2j, Rebecca Wrothe, Wyff of Thomas Wrothe, gent, a Virginian lady borne, here was buried in ye Chauncell.' *

Curiously enough, it is not known with certainty whether the 'Chauncell' was that at the first St George's Church or at the old church of St Mary, the site of which is now occupied by the *White Post Tavern*. Pocahontas was born in 1594 or 1595, and at the time of her death was little more than twenty years of age.

It is this story of Matoaka which, chiefly, has given rise to the statement that Smith was an 'unmitigated liar.' But all the extraneous proof and the circumstantial evidence bear out the story. And Smith's whole life is not one that tends to make the reader doubt his word and the testimony of those who were with him.

* The difference in the spelling of the surname, and the alteration of the Christian name, are of comparatively little importance.

The True Travels Adventures and Observations of Captain John Smith.

CHAPTER I

His birth ; apprenticeship ; going into France ; his beginning with ten shillings and three pence ; his service in the Netherlands ; his bad passage into Scotland ; his return to Willoughby, and how he lived in the woods.

HE was born in Willoughby, in Lincolnshire, and a scholar in the two free-schools of Alford and Louth. His father anciently descended from the ancient Smiths of Crudley in Lancashire ; his mother from the Rickands at Great-Heck in Yorkshire. His parents, dying when he was about thirteen years of age, left him a competent means, which he, not being capable to manage, little regarded, his mind being even then set upon brave adventures, sold his satchel, books, and all he had, intending secretly to get to sea, but that his father's death stayed him. But now, the guardians of his estate

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more regarding it than him, he had liberty enough, though no means, to get beyond the sea. About the age of fifteen years he was bound an apprentice to Mr Thomas Sendall of [King's] Lynn, the greatest merchant of all those parts ; but, because he would not presently send him to sea, he never saw his master in eight years after. At last he found means to attend Mr Peregrine Bertie into France, second son to the right honourable Peregrine, that generous Lord Willoughby and famous soldier ; where coming to his brother Robert, then at Orleans, now Earl of Lindsey, and Lord Great chamberlain of England, being then but little youths under tutor-age : his service being needless, within a month or six weeks they sent him back again to his friends, who, when he came from London, they liberally gave him (but out of his own estate) ten shillings to be rid of him ; such oft is the share of fatherless children : but those two honourable brethren gave him sufficient to return to England. But it was the least thought of his determination, for, now being freely at liberty in Paris, growing acquainted with one Mr David Home, who, making some use of his purse, gave him letters to his friends in Scotland to prefer him to King James. Arriving at Rouen he better bethinks himself, seeing his money near spent, down the river he went to Havre, where he first began to learn the life of a soldier. Peace being concluded

in France, he went with Captain Joseph Duxbury into the Low Countries, under whose colours having served three or four years, he took his journey for Scotland, to deliver his letters. At Enkhuisen he embarked himself for Leith, but as much danger as shipwreck and sickness could endure he had at Holy Island in Northumberland near Berwick. Being recovered, into Scotland he went to deliver his letters. After much kind usage among those honest Scots at Ripweth and Broxmouth, but neither money nor means to make him a courtier, he returned to Willoughby in Lincolnshire; where within a short time, being glutted with too much company, wherein he took small delight, he retired himself into a little woody pasture, a good way from any town, environed with many hundred acres of other woods: here by a fair brook he built a pavilion of boughs, where only in his clothes he lay. His study was Machiavelli's *Art of War*, and Marcus Aurelius; his exercise a good horse, with his lance and ring; his food was thought to be more of venison than anything else; what [else] he wanted his man brought him. The country wondering at such a hermit, his friends persuaded one Signor Theodore Polaloga, rider to Henry, Earl of Lincoln, an excellent horseman and a noble Italian gentleman, to insinuate [himself] into his woodish acquaintance, whose language and good dis-

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~~course~~ and exercise of riding drew him (Smith) to stay with him at Tattersall. Long these pleasures could not content him, but he returned again to the Low Countries.

CHAPTER II

*The notable villany of four French gallants
and his revenge ; Smith thrown over-
board ; Captain La Roche of St Malo
relieves him.*

THUS when France and the Netherlands had taught him to ride a horse and use his arms with such rudiments of war as his tender years in those martial schools could attain unto, he was desirous to see more of the world, and try his fortune against the Turks, both repenting and lamenting to have seen so many Christians slaughter one another. Opportunity casting him into the company of four French gallants well attended, feigning to him the one to be a great Lord, the rest his gentlemen, and that they were all devoted that way, over-per-sueded him to go with them into France, to the Duchess of Mercœur, from whom they should not only have means but also letters of favour to her noble duke, then general for the Emperor Rudolph in Hungary; which he did, with such ill weather as winter af-

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fordeth: in the dark night they arrived in the broad shallow inlet of St. Valéry sur Somme in Picardy. His French lord, knowing he had good apparel and [was] better furnished with money than themselves, so plotted with the master of the ship to set his and their own trunks ashore, leaving Smith aboard till the boat could return, which was the next day after towards evening: the reason he alleged was the sea went so high he could come no sooner, and that his lord was gone to Amiens, where they would stay his coming; which treacherous villany when divers other soldiers and passengers understood, they had like to have slain the master, and, had they known how, would have run away with the ship.

Coming on shore, he had but one carralue, was forced to sell his cloak to pay for his passage. One of the soldiers, called Curzianvere, compassionating his injury, assured him that this great Lord De Preau was only the son of a lawyer of Mortagne in base Brittany, and his attendants Cursell, La Nélie and Monferrat, three young citizens, as arrant cheats as himself; but, if he would accompany him, he would bring him to their friends, but in the interim supplied his wants. Thus travelling by Dieppe, Codebeck, Honfleur, Pontu-A-demer in Normandy, they came to Caen in base Normandy; where both this noble Curzianvere and the great prior of the great abbey of

St Stephen (where is the ruinous tomb of William the Conqueror) and many other of his friends kindly welcomed him, and brought him to Mortagne, where he found De Preau and the rest, but to small purpose ; for Mr Curzianvere was a banished man, and durst not be seen but to his friends ; yet the bruit of their cozenage occasioned the Lady Colombier, the Baron Larshan, the Lord Shasghe, and divers other honourable persons, to supply his wants, and with them to recreate himself so long as he would. But such pleasant pleasures suited little with his poor estate and his restless spirit that could never find content to receive such noble favours as he could neither deserve nor requite ; but, wandering from port to port to find some man of war, spent that he had, and in a forest, near dead with grief and cold, a rich farmer found him by a fair fountain under a tree : this kind peasant relieved him again to his content, to follow his intent. Not long after, as he passed through a great grove of trees between Pontorson and Dinan in Brittany, it was his chance to meet Cursell, more miserable than himself. His piercing injuries had so small patience as without any word they both drew, and in a short time Cursell fell to the ground, where from an old ruined tower the inhabitants seeing them, were satisfied when they heard Cursell confess what had formerly passed ; and that how, in the

dividing that they had stolen from him, they fell by the ears amongst themselves that were actors in it; but for his part he excused himself to be innocent as well of the one as of the other. In regard of his hurt, Smith was glad to be so rid of him, directing his course to an honourable lord, the Earl of Plouha, who during the war in France with his two brethren, Viscount Poomory and Baron de Mercy, who had been brought up in England; by him he was better refurnished than ever. When they had shewed him St Malo, Mount St Michel, Lamballe, St Briec, Lannian, and their own fair castle of Tonquedec, Guingamp, and divers other places in Brittany (and their British Cornwall), taking his leave, he took his way to Rennes, the Breton's chief city, and so to Nantes, Poitiers, Rochelle and Bordeaux. The rumour of the strength of Bayonne in Biscay caused him to see it; and from thence took his way from Lescar in Bearn and Pau in the Kingdom of Navarre to Toulouse in Gascony, Beziers and Carcassone, Narbonne, Montpellier, Nimes in Languedoc and through the country of Avignon, by Arles to Marseilles in Provence, there embarking himself for Italy; the ship was inforced to Toulon, and, putting again to sea, ill weather so grew upon them that they anchored close about the shore, under the little Isle of St Mary, against Nice in Savoy. Here the inhuman provincials,

with a rabble of pilgrims of divers nations going to Rome, hourly cursed him not only for a Huguenot, but his nation they swore were all pirates, and so vilely railed on his dread sovereign Queen Elizabeth, and that they never should have fair weather so long as he was aboard them; their disputations grew to that passion that they threw him overboard; yet God brought him to that little isle, where was no inhabitants but a few kine and goats. The next morning he espied two ships more riding by them, put in by the storm, that fetched him aboard, well refreshed him, and so kindly used him that he was well contented to try the rest of his fortune with them. After he had related unto them his former discourse, what for pity and the love of the honourable Earl of Plouha, this noble Breton, his neighbour, Captain La Roche of St Malo, regarded and entertained him for his well respected friend. With the next fair wind, they sailed along by the coast of Corsica and Sardinia, and, crossing the Gulf of Tunis, passed by Cape Bon to the isle of Lampedusa, leaving the coast of Barbary till they came at Cape Rosetta, and so along the African shore for Alexandria in Egypt. There delivering their freight, they went to Scandaroon, rather to view what ships were in the road than anything else; keeping their course by Cyprus, and the coast of Asia, sailing by Rhodes, the Archipelago, Crete and the coast

of Greece, and the isle of Cephalonia. They lay to and again a few days, betwixt the isle of Corfu, and the cape of Otranto, in the Kingdom of Naples, in the entrance of the Adriatic Sea.

CHAPTER III

*A desperate sea-fight in the Straits [of Otranto];
his passage to Rome, Naples, and the
view of Italy.*

BETWIXT the two capes they met with an argosy of Venice; it seemed the captain desired to speak with them, whose untoward answer was such as slew them a man; whereupon the *Britain* presently gave them the broadside, then his stern, and his other broadside also, and continued the chase, with his chase-pieces, till he gave them so many broadsides one after another that the argosy's sails and tackling was so torn she stood to her defence and made shot for shot; twice in one hour and a half the *Britain* boarded her, yet they cleared themselves; but, clapping her aboard again, the argosy fired him, which with much danger to them both was presently quenched. This rather augmented the *Britain's* rage than abated his courage; for, having reaccommodated himself again, shot her so oft betwixt wind and water she was ready to sink—

then they yielded ; the *Britain* lost fifteen men, she twenty, besides divers were hurt ; the rest went to work on all hands—some to stop the leaks, others to guard the prisoners that were chained, the rest to rifle her. The silks, velvets, cloth of gold and tissue, piasters, sequins and sultanies ; which is gold and silver, they unloaded in four and twenty hours, was wonderful, whereof having sufficient, and tired with toil, they cast her off with her company with as much good merchandise as would have freighted such another *Britain*, that was but two hundred tons, she four or five hundred.

To repair his defects he stood for the coast of Calabria ; but, hearing there was six or seven galleys at Messina, he departed thence for Malta ; but, the wind coming fair, he kept his course along the coast of the Kingdom of Sicily by Sardinia and Corsica, till he came to the road of Antibes in Piedmont, where he set Smith on shore with five hundred sequins and a little box God sent him worth near as much more. Here he left this noble *Britain*, and embarked himself for Leghorn, being glad to have such opportunity and means to better his experience by the view of Italy ; and, having passed Tuscany and the country of Siena, where he found his dear friends, the two honourable brethren the Lord Willoughby and his brother cruelly wounded in a desperate fray, yet to their exceeding great

honour. Then to Viterbo and many other cities he came to Rome, where it was his chance to see Pope Clement VIII with many cardinals, creep up the holy stairs, which they say are those our saviour Christ went up to Pontius Pilate, where, blood falling from His head, being pricked with His Crown of Thorns, the drops are marked with nails of steel—upon them none dare go but in that manner, saying so many *Ave Marias* and *Pater Nosters*, as is their devotion, and to kiss the nails of steel: but on each side is a pair of such like stairs, upon which you may go, stand, or kneel, but divided from the holy stairs by two walls: right against them is a chapel, where hangs a great silver lamp, which burneth continually, yet they say the oil neither increaseth nor diminisheth. A little distant is the ancient church of St John de Lateran, where he saw him [Pope Clement VIII] say mass, which commonly he doth upon some Friday once a month. Having saluted Father Parsons, that famous English Jesuit, and satisfied himself with the rarities of Rome, he went down the river Tiber to Civita Vechia, where he embarked himself, to satisfy his eye with the fair city of Naples and her kingdom's nobility: returning by Capua, Rome, and Siena, he passed by that admired city of Florence, the cities and countries of Bologna, Ferrara, Mantua, Padua and Venice, whose gulf he passed from Malamocco and the Adriatic

Sea for Ragusa, spending some time to see that barren, broken coast of Albania and Dalmatia, to Capo d'Istria, travelling the main of poor Slavonia by Laybach till he came to Gratz in Styria, the seat of Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, now Emperor of Germany, where he met an Englishman and an Irish Jesuit, who acquainted him with many brave gentlemen of good quality, especially with the Lord Ebersbacht, with whom, trying such conclusions as he projected to undertake, preferred him to Baron Kisell, general of the artillery, and he to a worthy colonel, the Earl of Meldrich, with whom going to Vienna in Austria, under whose regiment, in what service, and how he spent his time, this ensuing discourse will declare.

CHAPTER IV

*The siege of Limbach ; an excellent stratagem
by Smith ; another not much worse.'*

AFTER the loss of Kaniza, the Turks, with twenty thousand, besieged the strong town of Limbach so straitly as that they were cut off from all intelligence and hope of succour till John Smith, this English gentleman, acquainted Baron Kisell, general of the Arch-duke's artillery, [that] he had taught the governor, his worthy friend, such a rule that he would undertake to make him know anything he intended, and have his answer, would they but bring him to some place where he might make the flame of a torch seen to the town ; Kisell inflamed with this strange invention, Smith made it so plain, that forthwith he gave him guides, who in the dark night brought him to a mountain, where he shewed three torches equidistant from the other, which plainly appearing to the town, the governor presently apprehended, and answered again with three other fires in like manner ; each knowing the

others being and intent ; Smith, though distant seven miles, signified to him these words : ‘ On Thursday at night I will charge on the east, at the alarm salley you.’ Ebersbacht answered, he would, and thus it was done. First he writ his message as brief, you see, as could be, then divided the alphabet into two parts thus,

A. b. c. d. e. f. g. h. i. k. l.

1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

m. n. o. p. q. r. s. t. v. w. x. y. z.

2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2.

The first part from *A* to *l* is signified by shewing and hiding one link, so oft as there is letters from *A* to that letter you mean ; the other part from *m* to *z*, is mentioned by two lights in like manner. The end of a word is signified by shewing of three lights, ever staying your light at that letter you mean, till the other may write it in a paper and answer by his signal, which is one light : it is done, beginning to count the letters by the lights, every time from *A* to *m*. By this means also the other returned his answer, whereby each did understand [the] other. The guides all this time having well viewed the camp returned to Kisell ; who doubting of his power, being but ten thousand, was animated by the guides, how the Turks were so divided by the river in two parts, they could not easily second each other. To which Smith added this conclusion that two

or three thousand pieces of match fastened to divers small lines of an hundred fathom in length, being armed with powder, might all be fired and stretched at an instant before the alarm, upon the plain of Hysnaburg, supported by two staves, [one] at each line's end, in that manner would seem like so many musketeers. This was put in practice, and being discovered by the Turks, they prepared to encounter these false fires, thinking there had been some great army ; whilst Kisell with his ten thousand being entered the Turks quarters, who ran up and down as men amazed, it was not long ere Ebersbacht was pell-mell with them in their trenches ; in which distracted confusion a third part of the Turks that besieged that side towards Neussbruck were slain, many of the rest drowned, but [all the rest] fled. The other part of the army was so busied to resist the false fires that Kisell before the morning put two thousand good soldiers in the town, and with small loss was retired. The garrison was well relieved with what they found in the Turks' quarters, which caused the Turks to raise their siege and return to Kaniza ; and Kisell with much honour was received at Kerment, and occasioned the author a good reward and preferment—to be captain of two hundred and fifty horsemen—under the conduct of Colonel Voldo Earl of Meldrich.

CHAPTER V

The siege of Stühl-weissenburg ; the effects of Smith's fire-work ; a worthy exploit of Earl Rosworme ; Earl Meldrich takes the Pasha prisoner.

A GENERAL rumour of a general peace, now spread itself over all the face of those tormented countries ; but the Turk intended no such matter, but levied soldiers from all parts he could. The Emperor also, by the assistance of the Christian princes provided three armies, the one led by the Archduke Matthias, the Emperor's brother, and his lieutenant Duke de Mercœur to defend Lower Hungary ; the second by Ferdinand the Archduke of Styria, and the Duke of Mantua his lieutenant to regain Kaniza ; the third by Gonzago, Governor of Upper-Hungary, to join with Georgio Bocskay to make an absolute conquest of Transylvania.

Duke de Mercœur with an army of thirty thousand, whereof near ten thousand were French, besieged *Stühlweissenburg*, otherwise called *Alba Regalis*, a place so strong

by art and nature that it was thought impregnable. At his first coming, the Turks sallied upon the German quarter, slew near five hundred, and returned before they were thought on. The next night in like manner they did near as much to the Austrians and Hungarians ; of which fortune still presuming, thinking to have found the French quarter as careless, eight or nine hundred of them were cut in pieces and taken prisoners. In this encounter Monsieur Grandville, a brave French colonel, received seven or eight cruel wounds, yet followed the enemy to the ports. He came off alive, but within three or four days died.

Earl Meldrich, by the information of three or four Christians escaped out of the town where there were greatest assemblies and throng of people upon every alarm, caused Captain Smith to put in practice his fiery dragons he had demonstrated unto him and the Earl Van Sulch at Komorn, which he thus performed : having prepared forty or fifty round-bellied earthen pots, and filled them with hand gun-powder, then covered them with pitch mingled with brimstone and turpentine, and quartering as many musket-bullets, that hung together but only at the centre of the division, stuck them round in the mixture about the pots, and covered them again with the same mixture ; over that a strong searchcloth, then over all a good thickness of towze-match, well tem-

pered with oil of linseed, camphor and powder of brimstone. These he fitly placed in slings, graduated so near as they could to the places of these assemblies. At midnight upon the alarm, it was a fearful sight to see the short flaming course of their flight in the air, but presently after their fall the lamentable noise of the miserable slaughtered Turks was most wonderful to hear: besides, they had fired that suburb at the Buda Gate in two or three places, which so troubled the Turks to quench that had there been any means to have assaulted them, they could hardly have resisted the fire and their enemies. The Earl Rosworme, contrary to the opinion of all men, would needs undertake to find means to surprise the segeth and suburb of the city, strongly defended by a muddy lake which was thought unpassable.

The Duke having planted his ordnance, battered the other side, whilst Rosworme in the dark night, with every man a bundle of sedge and bavins [i.e. faggots of brushwood] still thrown before them, so laded up the lake, as they surprised that unregarded suburb before they were discovered. Upon which unexpected alarm, the Turks fled into the city; and the other suburb not knowing the matter, got into the city also, leaving their suburb for the duke, who, with no great resistance took it, with many pieces of ordnance; the city being of no such strength

as the suburbs, was so battered with their own ordnance that it was taken by force, with such a merciless execution as was most pitiful to behold. The Pasha notwithstanding, drew together a party of five hundred before his own palace, where he intended to die ; but seeing most of his men slain before him by the valiant captain, Earl Meldrich, who took him prisoner with his own hands ; and with the hazard of himself saved him from the fury of other troops that did pull down his palace and would have rent him in pieces, had he not been thus preserved. The Duke thought his victory much honoured with such a prisoner ; took order he should be used like a prince, and with all expedition gave charge presently to repair the breaches and the ruins of this famous city that had been in the possession of the Turks near threescore years.

CHAPTER VI

A brave encounter of the Turks Army with the Christians ; Duke de Mercœur overthroweth Assan Pasha ; he divides the Christian army ; his nobleness and death.

MAHOMET the great Turk, during the siege, had raised an army of sixty thousand men to have relieved it ; but hearing it was lost, he sent Assan Pasha, general of his army, the Pasha of Buda Pesth [and] Pasha Amaroz, to see if it were possible to regain it. The Duke understanding there could be no great experience in such a new levied army as Assan had, having put a strong garrison into it, and with the brave Colonel Rosworme, Culnits, Meldrich, the Rhinegrave, Vahan and many others, with twenty thousand good soldiers, set forward to meet the Turk in the plains of Girke. Those two armies encountered as they marched, where began a hot and bloody skirmish betwixt them, regiment against regiment, as they came in order, till the night parted them. Here Earl Meldrich was so environed among those

half circular regiments of Turks, they supposed him their prisoner, and his regiment lost ; but his two most courageous friends, Vahan and Culnits, made such a passage amongst them that it was a terror to see how horse and man lay sprawling and tumbling, some one way some another on the ground. The Earl there at that time made his valour shine more bright than his armour, which seemed then painted with Turkish blood ; he slew the brave zanzack Bugola and made his passage to his friends, but near half his regiment was slain. Captain Smith had his horse slain under him, and himself sore wounded ; but he was not long unmounted for there was choice enough of horses than wanted masters. The Turk thinking the victory sure against the Duke, whose army, by the siege and the garrison he had left behind him was much weakened, would not be content with one, but he would have all, and lest the Duke should return to Stühlweissenburg, he sent that night twenty thousand to besiege the city, assuring them, he would keep the Duke or any other from relieving them. Two or three days they lay each by other, entrenching themselves ; the Turks daring the Duke daily to a set battle, who at length drew out his army, led by the Rhinegrave, Culnits and Meldrich, who upon their first encounter charged with that resolute and valiant courage as disordered not only the foremost squadrons of

OF CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

the Turks, but enforced all the whole army to retire to the camp with the loss of five or six thousand, the Pasha of Buda, and four or five zanzacks, with divers other great commanders. Two hundred prisoners, and nine pieces of ordnance [were taken]. At that instant appeared, as it were another army coming out of a valley over a plain hill that caused the Duke at that time to be contented, and to retire to his trenches, which gave time to Assan to reorder his disordered squadrons. Here they lay nine or ten days, and more supplies repaired to them, expecting to try the event in a set battle ; but the soldiers on both parties, by reason of their great wants and [the] approach of winter, grew so discontented that they were ready of themselves to break up the leager ; the Pasha retiring himself to Buda, had some of the rear troops cut off. Amaroze Pasha hearing of this, found such bad welcome at Stühlweissenburg, and the town [being] so strongly repaired with so brave a garrison, raised his siege, and retired to Tzigetvar.

The Duke understanding that the Archduke Ferdinand had so resolutely besieged Kaniza, as what by the loss of Stühlweissenburg, and the Turks retreat to Buda, being void of hope of any relief, doubted not, but it would become again the Christians'. To the furtherance whereof, the Duke divided his army into three parts. The Earl of Rosworme went with seven thousand to Kaniza

the Earl of Meldrich with six thousand he sent to assist Georgio Bosckay against the Transylvanians, the rest went with himself to the garrisons of Gran and Komorn. Having thus worthily behaved himself, he arrived at Vienna, where the archdukes, and the nobility with as much honour received him, as if he had conquered all Hungary; his very picture they esteemed would make them fortunate, which thousands kept as curiously as a precious relic. To requite this honour, preparing himself to return into France to raise new forces against the next year, with the two archdukes, Matthias and Maximilian, and divers others of the nobility, was with great magnificence conducted to Nuremburg, there by them royally feasted (how it chanced is not known), but the next morning he was found dead, and his brother-in-law died two days after; whose hearts, after this great triumph, with much sorrow were carried into France.

CHAPTER VII

The unhappy siege of Kaniza ; Earl Meldrich serveth Prince Sigismund ; Prince Moyses besiegeth Regall ; Smith's three single combats ; his patent from Sigismund and reward.

THE worthy Lord Rosworme had not a worse journey to the miserable siege of Kaniza, (where by the extremity of an extraordinary continuing tempest of hail, wind, frost and snow, the Christians were forced to leave their tents and artillery and what they had, it being so cold that three or four hundred of them were frozen to death in a night, and two or three thousand lost in that miserable flight in the snowy tempest, though they did know no enemy at all to follow them), than the noble Earl of Meldrich had to Transylvania, where hearing of the death of Michael, and the brave Duke de Mercœur, and knowing the policy of Bocskay, and the prince his royalty, being now beyond all belief of men, in possession of the best part of Transylvania, persuaded his troops, in so

honest a cause, to assist the Prince against the Turk, rather than Bocskay against the Prince.

The soldiers being worn out with those hard pays and travels, upon hope to have free liberty to make booty upon what they could get possession of from the Turks were easily persuaded to follow him whithersoever. Now this noble earl was a Transylvanian born, and his father's country yet inhabited by the Turks ; for Transylvania was yet in three divisions, though the Prince had the hearts both of country and people ; yet the frontiers had a garrison amongst the unpassable mountains, some for the Emperor, some for the Prince, and some for the Turk—to regain which small estate, he desired leave of the Prince to try his fortunes, and to make use of that experience the time of twenty years had taught him in the Emperor's service, promising to spend the rest of his days, for his country's defence in his excellency's service. The Prince glad of so brave a commander, and so many expert and ancient soldiers made him camp-master of his army, gave him all necessary relief for his troops, and what freedom they desired to plunder the Turks.

The Earl having made many incursions into the land of Zarkam, among those rocky mountains where were some Turks, some Tartars, but most bandits, renegades, and such like, which sometimes he forced into

the plains of Regall,¹ where is a city, not only of men and fortifications strong of itself, but so environed with mountains that made the passages so difficult, that in all these wars no attempt had been made upon it to any purpose. Having satisfied himself with the situation, and the most convenient passages to bring his army unto it, the earth no sooner put on her green habit, than the Earl overspread her with his armed troops. To possess himself first of the most convenient passage, which was a narrow valley betwixt two high mountains; he sent Colonel Veltus with his regiment dispersed in companies, to lie in ambuscade, as he had directed them, and in the morning to drive all the cattle they could find before a fort in that passage, whom he supposed would sally, seeing but some small party to recover their prey; which took such good success, that the garrison was cut off by the ambuscade and Veltus seized on the skonces, which were abandoned. Meldrich glad of so fortunate a beginning, it was six days ere he could with six thousand pioneers make passage for his ordnance. The Turks having such warning, strengthened the town so with men and provision, that they made a scorn of so small a number as Meldrich brought with him before the city, which was but eight thousand. Before they had

¹ Regall is supposed to have been a town on the borders of Transylvania.

pitched their tents, the Turks sallied in such abundance, as for an hour they had rather a bloody battle than a skirmish, but with the loss of near fifteen hundred on both sides. The Turks were chased till the cities ordnance caused the Earl to retire. The next day Zackel Moyses, general of the army, pitched also his tents with nine thousand foot and horse, and six and twenty pieces of ordnance ; but in regard of the situation of this strong fortress, they did neither fear them nor hurt them, being upon the point of a fair promontory, environed on the one side within half a mile with an unuseful mountain,¹ and on the other side with a fair plain, where the Christians encamped, but so commanded by their ordnance they spent near a month in entrenching themselves, and raising their mounts to plant their batteries ; which slow proceedings the Turks oft derided, that their ordnance were at pawn, and how they grew fat for want of exercise, and fearing lest they should depart ere they could assault their city, sent this challenge to any captain in the army.

That to delight the ladies, who did long to see some court-like pastime, the Lord Turbashaw did defy any captain, that had the command of a company, who durst combat with him for his head. The matter being discussed it was accepted, but so many

¹ From the point of view of ordnance attack.

questions grew for the undertaking it was decided by lots, which fell upon Captain Smith, before spoken of.

Truce being made for that time, the ramparts all beset with fair dames and men in arms, the Christians in *batalia*, *Turbashaw* with a noise of hautboys entered the field well mounted and armed ; on his shoulders were fixed a pair of great wings, compacted of eagle's feathers within a ridge of silver, richly garnished with gold and precious stones ; a janizary before him, bearing his lance, on each side another leading his horse ; where long he stayed not, ere Smith with a noise of trumpets, only a page bearing his lance, passing by him with a courteous salute, took his ground with such good success, that at the sound of the charge, he passed the Turk through the sight of his beaver, face, head and all, that he fell dead to the ground, where alighting and unbracing his helmet, cut off his head and the Turks took his body ; and so returned without any hurt at all. The head he presented to the Lord Moyses, the general, who kindly accepted it, and with joy to the whole army he was generally welcomed.

The death of this captain so swelled in the heart of one *Grualgo*, his vowed friend, as rather enraged with madness than choler, he directed a particular challenge to the conqueror, to regain his friend's head, or lose his own with his horse and armour for advan-

tage, which according to his desire was the next day undertaken. As before upon the sound of the trumpets, their lances flew in pieces upon a clear passage, but the Turk was near unhorsed. Their pistols was the next, which marked Smith upon the placard [or placker, or breastplate]; but the next shot the Turk was so wounded in the left arm, that being not able to rule his horse and defend himself, he was thrown to the ground, and so bruised with the fall that he lost his head, as his friend before him, with his horse and armour ; but his body and his rich apparel were sent back to the town.

Every day the Turks made some sallies, but few skirmishes would they endure to any purpose. Our works and approaches being not yet advanced to that height and effect which was of necessity to be performed ; to delude time, Smith with so many incontestible persuading reasons, obtained leave, that the ladies might know he was not so much enamoured of their servants heads, but if any Turk of their rank would come to the place of combat to redeem them, should have his also upon the like conditions, if he could win it.

The challenge presently was accepted by Bonni Mulgro. The next day both the champions entering the field as before, each discharging their pistol ; having no lances but such martial weapons as the defendant appointed, no hurt was done ; their battle

axes were the next, whose piercing bills made sometime the one, sometime the other to have scarce sense to keep their saddles ; specially the Christian received such a blow, that he lost his battle-axe, and failed not much to have fallen after it, whereat the supposed conquering Turk had a great shout from the ramparts. The Turk prosecuted his advantage to the uttermost of his power ; yet the other, what by the readiness of his horse, and his judgment and dexterity in such a business, beyond all men's expectation, by God's assistance not only avoided the Turk's violence, but having drawn his falchion, pierced the Turk so under the culets [corselets], through back and body, that although he alighted from his horse, he stood not long ere he lost his head, as the rest had done.

CHAPTER VIII

Georgio Bocskay an Albanian, his ingratitude to Prince Sigismund ; Prince Moyses his lieutenant, is overthrown by Bocskay, general for the Emperor Rudolph ; Sigismund yieldeth his country to Rudolph ; Bocskay assisteth Prince Rudoll in Wallachia.

THIS good success gave such great encouragement to the whole army, that with a guard of six thousand ; three spare horses, before each a Turk's head upon a lance ; he was conducted to the general's pavilion with his presents. Moyses received both him and them with as much respect as the occasion deserved, embracing him in his arms, gave him a fair horse richly furnished, a scimitar and belt worth three hundred ducats ; and Meldrich made him sergeant-major of his regiment. But now to the siege. Having mounted six and twenty pieces of ordnance, fifty or sixty foot above the plain, made them so plainly tell his meaning that within fifteen days two breaches were made, which the Turks as valiantly defended as men could ; that day was made a darksome night, but by the light that proceeded from the

murdering muskets, and peace-making cannon, whilst their slothful governor lay in a castle on the top of a high mountain and like a valiant prince asketh what's the matter, when horror and death stood amazed each at other to see who should prevail to make him victorious ; Moyses commanding a general assault upon the sloping front of the high promontory, where the Barons of Budendorfe and Oberwin lost near half their regiments by logs, bags of powder, and such like tumbling down the hill, they were to mount ere they could come to the breach ; notwithstanding with an incredible courage they advanced to the push of the pike with the defendants, that with the like courage repulsed, till the Earls Meldrich, Becklefield and Zarvana with their fresh regiments seconded them with that fury that the Turks retired and fled into the castle, from whence by a flag of truce they desired composition. The Earl remembering his father's death battered it with all the ordnance in the town, and the next day took it ; all he found could bear arms he put to the sword, and set their heads upon stakes round about the walls in the same manner they had used the Christians, when they took it. Moyses having repaired the ramparts and thrown down the work in his camp, he put in it a strong garrison, though the pillage he had gotten in the town was much, having been for a long time an impregnable den of

thieves ; yet the loss of the army so intermingled the sour with the sweet as forced Moyses to seek a further revenge, that he sacked Veratio, Salmos and Kupronka, and with two thousand prisoners, most women and children, came to Eisenburg, not far from the Prince's palace, where he there encamped.

Sigismund coming to view his army, was presented with the prisoners and six and thirty ensigns ; where celebrating thanks to Almighty God in triumph of those victories, he was made acquainted with the service Smith had done at Limbach, Stühlweissenburg and Regall, for which, with great honour, he gave him three Turks heads in a shield for his arms, by patent, under his hand and seal, with an oath ever to wear them in his colours, his picture in gold, and three hundred ducats yearly for a pension.



SIGISMUNDUS BATHORI *Dei gratia, dux Transilvaniæ, Wallachiæ, et Vandalorum ; comes Anchard, Salford, Growenda ; cunctis*

his literis significamus qui eas lecturi aut audituri sunt, concessam licentiam aut facultatem Johanni Smith, natione Anglo generoso, 250. militum capitaneo sub illustrissimo et gravissimo Henrico Volda, comite de Meldri, Salmariæ, et Peldoicæ primario, ex 1000 equitibus et 1500. peditibus bello Ungarico conductione in provincias supra scriptas sub authoritate nostra : Cui servituti omni laude, perpetuaque memoria dignum præbuit se seerga nos, ut virum strenuum pugnans pro aris et focis decet. Quare è favore nostro militario ipsum ordine condonavimus, et in sigillum illius tria Turcica capita designare et deprimere concessimus, quæ ipse gladio suo ad urbem Regalem in singulari prælio vicit, mactavit, atque decollavit in Transilvaniæ provincia : Sed fortuna cum variabilis ancepsque sit, idem forte fortuito in Wallachiæ provincia, Anno Domini 1602, die mensis Novembris 18, cum multis aliis etiam nobilibus et aliis quibusdam militibus captus est à domino Bascha electo ex Cambia regionis Tartariæ, cujus feveritate adductus salutem quantam potuit quæsit, tantumque effecit Deo omnipotente adjuvante, ut deliberaverit se, et ad suos commilitones reverterit ; ex quibus ipsum liberavimus, et hæc nobis testimonia habuit ut majori licentia fruereetur qua dignus esset, jam tendet in patriam suam dulcissimam : Rogamus ergo omnes nostros charissimos, confinitimos, duces, principes

comites, barones, gubernatores urbium et
marium in eadem regione et cæterarum
provinciarum in quibus ille residere conatus
fuerit, ut idem permittatur capitaneus libere
sine obstaculo omni versari. Hæc facientes
pergratum nobis feceritis. Signatum Les-
priciæ in Misnia die mensis Decembris 9.
Anno Domini 1603.



Cum privilegio pro-
priae majestatis.

SIGISMUNDUS
BATHORI.

UNIVERSIS et singulis, cujuscunque joci,
status, gradus, ordinis, ac conditionis ac
quos hoc præsens scriptum pervenerit, Guliel-
mus Segar, eques auratus aliàs dictus garterus
principalis rex armorum Anglicorum, salutem.
Sciatis, quod ego prædictus garterus, notum,
testatumque facio, quod patentem suprascriptum,
cum manu propria prædicti ducis Transil-
vaniae subsignatum, et sigillo suo affixum,
vidi: Et copiam veram ejusdem (in per-
petuam rei memoriam) transcripsi, et re-
cordavi in archivis, et registris officii ar-

morum. Datum Londini 19 die Augusti, Anno Domini 1625. Annoque regni domini nostri CAROLI Dei gratia Magnæ-Britanniæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ regis, fidei defensoris, et primo.

GULIELMUS SEGAR, Garterus.

SIGISMUND BATHORI, by the grace of God Duke of Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia, Earl of Anchard, Salford and Growenda ; to whom this writing may come or appear. Know that we have given leave and licence to John Smith an English gentleman, captain of 250 soldiers, under the most generous and honourable Henry Volda, Earl of Meldrich, Salmaria and Peldoia, colonel of a thousand horse, and fifteen hundred foot, in the wars of Hungary, and in the provinces aforesaid under our authority ; whose service doth deserve all praise, and perpetual memory towards us, as a man that did for God and his country overcome his enemies : Wherefore out of our love and favour, according to the law of arms, we have ordained, and given him in his shield of arms the figure and description of three Turks heads, which with his sword before the town of Regall, in single combat he did over-come, kill, and cut off, in the province of Transylvania. But fortune, as she is very variable, so it chanced and happened to him in the province of Wallachia, in the year of our Lord 1602, the 18th day of November, with many others, as well noble men as

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also divers other soldiers, were taken prisoners by the Lord Pasha of Cambia, a country of Tartary, whose cruelty brought him such good fortune, by the help and power of Almighty God, that he delivered himself, and returned again to his company and fellow soldiers, of whom we do discharge him, and this he hath in witness thereof, being much more worthy of a better reward ; and now intends to return to his own sweet country. We desire therefore all our loving and kind kinsmen, dukes, princes, earls, barons, governors of towns, cities or ships, in this kingdom, or any other provinces he shall come in, that you freely let pass this the aforesaid captain, without any hindrance or molestation, and this doing, with all kindness, we are always ready to do the like for you. Sealed at Leipzig in Misenland, the ninth of December, in the year of our Lord 1603.

With the proper privilege SIGISMUNDUS
of his majesty. BATHORI.

TO all and singular, in what place, state, degree, order or condition whatsoever, to whom this present writing shall come ; I William Segar, Kt. otherwise garter and principal king of arms of England, wish health. Know, that I the aforesaid garter, do witness and approve, that this aforesaid patent, I have seen, signed and sealed, under the proper hand and seal manual of the said Duke of Transylvania, and a true copy of

the same, as a thing for perpetual memory, I have subscribed and recorded in the register and office of the heralds of arms. Dated at London, the nineteenth day of August, in the year of our Lord 1625, and in the first year of our Sovereign Lord Charles, by the grace of God, King of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc.

WILLIAM SEGAR.

CHAPTER IX

Sigismund sends ambassadors unto the Emperor ; the conditions re-assured ; he yieldeth up all to Bocskay, and returneth to Prague.

BOSKAY having been all this time raising new forces, was commanded from the Emperor again to invade Transylvania, which [from] being one of the fruitfulest and strongest countries in those parts, was now rather a desert, or the very spectacle of desolation ; their fruits and fields overgrown with weeds, their churches and battered palaces and best buildings, as for fear, hid with moss and ivy ; being the very bulwark and rampart of a great part of Europe, most fit by all Christians to have been supplied and maintained, was thus brought to ruin by them it most concerned to support it. But alas, what is it, when the power of majesty pampered in all delights of pleasant vanity, neither knows, nor considers the labour of the ploughman, the hazard of the merchant, the oppression of statesmen, nor feels the

piercing torments of broken limbs and inveterate wounds, the toilsome marches, the bad lodging, the hungry diet, and the extreme misery that soldiers endure to secure all those estates ; and yet by the spight of malicious detraction, starve for want of their reward and recompences ; whilst the politique courtier, commonly aims more at his own honours and ends than his country's good, or his prince's glory honour or security, as this worthy prince too well could testify. But the Emperor being certified how weak and desperate his estate was, sent Bocskay again with a great army to try his fortune once more in Transylvania. The Prince considering how his country and subjects were consumed, the small means he had any longer to defend his estate, both against the cruelty of the Turk and the power of the Emperor, and the small care the Poles had in supplying him, as they had promised, sent to Bocskay to have truce till messengers might be sent to the Emperor for some better agreement, wherewith Bocskay was contented. The ambassadors so prevailed, that the Emperor re-assured unto them the conditions he had promised the Prince at their confederacy for the lands in Silesia, with 60,000 ducats presently in hand, and 50,000 ducats yearly as a pension. When this conclusion was known to Moyses, his lieutenant then in the field with the army, that would do anything, rather than come in

subjection to the Germans, he encouraged his soldiers, and without any more ado marched to encounter Bocskay, whom he found much better provided than he expected ; so that betwixt them, in six or seven hours, more than five or six thousand, on both sides, lay dead in the field. Moyses thus overthrown, fled to the Turks at Tameswar, and his scattered troops, some one way, some another.

The Prince understanding of this so sudden and unexpected accident, only accompanied with an hundred of his gentry and nobility, went into the camp to Bocskay, to let him know how ignorant he was of his lieutenant's error, that he had done it without his direction or knowledge, freely offering to perform what was concluded by his ambassadors with the Emperor ; and so causing all his garrisons to come out of their strongholds, he delivered all to Bocskay for the Emperor, and so went to Prague, where he was honourably received, and established in his possessions, as his Imperial Majesty had promised. Bocskay assembling all the nobility, took their oaths of allegiance and fidelity, and thus their prince being gone Transylvania became again subject to the Emperor. *

Now after the death of Michael, vaivode of Wallachia, the Turk sent one Jeremy to be their vaivode or prince, whose insulting tyranny caused the people to take arms

against him, so that he was forced to fly into the confines of Moldavia ; and Bocskay in the behalf of the Emperor, proclaimed the Lord Rudoll in his stead. But Jeremy having assembled an army of forty thousand Turks, Tartars and Moldavians, returned into Wallachia. Rudoll not yet able to raise such a power, fled into Transylvania to Bocskay, his ancient friend ; who considering well of the matter, and how good it would be for his own security to have Wallachia subject to the Emperor, or at least such an employment for the remainders of the old regiments of Sigismund (of whose greatness and true affection he was very suspicious) sent them with Rudoll to recover Wallachia, conducted by the valiant captains the Earl Meldrich, Earl Veltus, Earl Nederspolt, Earl Zarvana, the Lord Becklefield, the Lord Budendorfe, with their regiments, and divers others of great rank and quality, the greatest friends and alliances the Prince had ; who with thirty thousand, marched along by the river Alute, to the straits of Rimnik, where they entered Wallachia, encamping at Retch ; Jeremy lying at Argish, drew his army into his old camp, in the plains of Pitosti, and with his best diligence fortified it, intending to defend himself till more power came to him from the Crim Tartar. Many small parties that came to his camp Rudoll cut off, and in the nights would cause their heads to be

thrown up and down before the trenches. Seven of their porters were taken, whom Jeremy commanded to be flayed quick, and after hung their skins upon poles, and their carcasses and heads on stakes by them.

CHAPTER X

The battle of Rothenthurm ; a pretty stratagem of fire-works by Smith.

RUDOLL, not knowing how to draw the enemy to battle, raised his army, burning and spoiling all where he came, and returned again towards Rimnik in the night, as if he had fled upon the general rumour of the Crim Tartar's coming, which so inflamed the Turks of a happy victory they urged Jeremy against his will to follow them. Rudoll seeing his plot fell out as he desired, so ordered the matter, that having regained the straits, he put his army in order, that had been near two days pursued with continual skirmishes in his rear, which now making head against the enemy, that followed with their whole army in the best manner they could, was furiously charged with six thousand Heydukes, Wallachians and Moldavians, led by three colonels, Oversall, Dubras and Calab, to entertain the time till the rest came up ; Veltus and Nederspolt with their regiments, entertained them with the like courage, till the zanzacke Hamesbeg, with

six thousand more, came with a fresh charge, which Meldrich and Budendorfe, rather like enraged lions, than men, so bravely encountered, as if in them only had consisted the victory ; Meldrich's horse being slain under him, the Turks pressed what they could to have taken him prisoner ; but being remounted, it was thought with his own hand he slew the valiant zanzacke ; whereupon his troops retiring, the two proud Pashas Aladin and Zizimmus, brought up the front of the body of their battle. Veltus and Nederspolt having breathed, and joining their troops with Becklefield and Zarvana, with such an incredible courage, charged the left flank of Zizimmus, as put them all in disorder, where Zizimmus the Pasha was taken prisoner but died presently upon his wounds. Jeremy seeing now the main battle of Rudoll advance, being thus constrained, like a valiant prince in his front of the vanguard, by his example so bravely encouraged his soldiers that Rudoll found no great assurance of the victory. Thus being joined in this bloody massacre, there was scarce ground to stand upon but upon the dead carcasses, which in less than an hour were so mingled as if each regiment had singled out other. The admired Aladin that day did leave behind him a glorious name for his valour, whose death many of his enemies did lament after the victory, which at that instant fell to Rudoll. It

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was reported Jeremy was also slain ; but it was not so, but fled with the remainder of his army to Moldavia, leaving five and twenty thousand dead in the field of both armies. And thus Rudoll was seated again in his sovereignty, and Wallachia became subject to the Emperor.

But long he rested not to settle his new estate, but there came news that certain regiments of straggling Tartars were foraging those parts towards Moldavia. Meldrich with thirteen thousand men was sent against them, but when they heard it was the Crim Tartar and his two sons, with an army of thirty thousand ; and Jeremy, that had escaped with fourteen or fifteen thousand, lay in ambush for them about Longenaw ; he retired towards Rothenthurm, a strong garrison for Rudoll ; but they were so environed with these hellish numbers they could make no great haste for skirmishing with their scouts, foragers and small parties that still encountered them. But one night amongst the rest, having made a passage through a wood with an incredible expedition, cutting trees thwart each other to hinder their passage in a thick fog ; early in the morning, unexpectedly they met two thousand loaded with pillage, and two or three hundred horse and cattle ; the most of them were slain and taken prisoners, who told them where Jeremy lay in the passage, expecting the Crim Tartar

that was not far from him. Meldrich intending to make his passage by force was advised of a pretty stratagem by the English Smith, which presently he thus accomplished ; for having accommodated two or three hundred trunks with wild-fire, upon the heads of lances, and charging the enemy in the night, gave fire to the trunks, which blazed forth such flames and sparkles, that it so amazed, not only their horses, but their foot also ; that by the means of this flaming encounter, their own horses turned tails with such fury, as by their violence overthrew Jeremy and his army, without any loss at all to speak of to Meldrich. But of this victory long they triumphed not ; for being within three leagues of Rothen-thurm, the Tartar, with near forty thousand so beset them, that they must either fight or be cut in pieces flying. Here Bocskay and the Emperor had their desire ; for the sun no sooner displayed his beams, than the Tartar his colours ; where at mid-day he stayed a while to see the passage of a tyrannical and treacherous imposture, till the earth did blush with the blood of honesty, that the sun for shame did hide himself from so monstrous sight of a cowardly calamity. It was a most brave sight to see the banners and ensigns streaming in the air, the glittering of armour, the variety of colours, the motion of plumes, the forests of lances, and the thickness of shorter weapons, till the

silent expedition of the bloody blast from the murdering ordnance. whose roaring voice is not so soon heard as felt by the aimed at object, made among them a most lamentable slaughter.

CHAPTER XI

The names of the English that were slain in the battle of Rothenthurm; and how Captain Smith was taken prisoner, and sold for a slave.

IN the valley of Veristhorne, [Verres Töröny] betwixt the river of Aluta and the mountain of Rothenthurm, was this bloody encounter, where the most of the dearest friends of the noble Prince Sigismund perished. Meldrich having ordered his eleven thousand in the best manner he could, at the foot of the mountain upon his flanks, and before his front he had pitched sharp stakes, their heads hardened in the fire, and bent against the enemy as three battalion of pikes, amongst the which also, there was digged many small holes. Amongst those stakes were ranged his footmen, that upon the charge were to retire, as there was occasion. The Tartar having ordered his 40,000 for his best advantage, appointed Mustapha Pasha to begin the battle with a general shout, all their ensigns displaying, drums beating, trumpets and hautboys sounding. Neder-

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spolt and Mavazo with their regiments of horse most valiantly encountered, and forced them to retire ; the Tartar Begolgi with his squadrons, darkening the skies with their flights of numberless arrows, who was as bravely encountered by Veltus and Oberwin, which bloody slaughter continued more than an hour, till the matchless multitude of the Tartars so increased, that they retired within their squadrons of stakes as was directed. The bloody Tartar, as scorning he should stay so long for the victory, with his massed troops prosecuted the charge. But it was a wonder to see how horse and man came to the ground among the stakes, whose disordered troops were there so mangled, that the Christians with a loud shout cried ' victory ; ' and with five or six field pieces—planted upon the rising of the mountain did much hurt to the enemy that still continued the battle with that fury, that Meldrich seeing there was no possibility long to prevail, joined his small troops in one body, resolved directly to make his passage, or die in the conclusion ; and thus in gross gave a general charge, and for more than half an hour, made his way plain before him, till the main battle of the Crim Tartar, with two regiments of Turks and janizaries so overmatched them that they were overthrown. The night approaching, the Earl with some thirteen or fourteen hundred horse swam the river, some were drowned

[and] all the rest slain or taken prisoners. And thus in this bloody field, near 30,000 lay, some headless, armless and legless, all cut and mangled ; where breathing their last, they gave this knowledge to the world, that for the lives of so few, the Crim Tartar never paid dearer. But now the countries of Transylvania and Wallachia (subjected to the Emperor) and Sigismund that brave prince, his subject and pensioner, the most of his nobility, brave captains and soldiers, became a prey to the cruel devouring Turk ; where, had the Emperor been as ready to have assisted him, and those three armies led by three such worthy captains as Michael, Bocskay and himself, and had those three armies joined together against the Turk, let all men judge, how happy it might have been for all Christendom, and have either regained Bulgaria, or at least have beat him out of Hungary where he hath taken much more from the Emperor than hath the Emperor from Transylvania.

In this dismal battle where Nederspolt, Veltus, Zarvana, Mavazo, Bavel, and many other earls, barons, colonels, captains, brave gentlemen, and soldiers were slain, give me leave to remember the names of our own countrymen, with him in those exploits, that as resolutely as the best in the defence of Christ and his gospel, ended their days, as Baskerfield, Hardwick, Thomas Milemer, Robert Mollyneux, Thomas Bishop,

Francis Compton, George Davison, Nicholas Williams, and one John a Scot did what men could do ; and when they could do no more left there their bodies in testimony of their minds ; only Ensign Carlton and Serjeant Robinson escaped. But Smith among the slaughtered dead bodies and many a gasping soul, with toil and wounds lay groaning among the rest, till being found by the pillagers he was able to live, and perceiving by his armour and habit his ransome might be better to them than his death they led him prisoner with many others ; well they used him till his wounds were cured, and at Tcher-navada they were all sold for slaves, like beasts in a market-place, where every merchant, viewing their limbs and wounds, caused other slaves to struggle with them, to try their strength. He fell to the share of Pasha Bogall, who sent him forthwith to Adrianopolis, so for Constantinople to his fair mistress for a slave. By twenty and twenty chained by the necks, they marched in file to this great city where they were delivered to their several masters, and he to the young Charatza Tragabigzanda.

CHAPTER XII

How Captain Smith was sent prisoner through the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov in Tartary ; the description of those seas, and his usage.

THIS noble gentlewoman took sometime occasion to show him to some friends, or rather to speak with him, because she could speak Italian ; would feign herself sick when she should go to the Bannians (or weep over the graves) to know how Bogall took him prisoner ; and, if he were, as the Pasha writ to her, a Bohemian lord conquered by his hand, as he had [conquered] many others, which ere long he would present her, whose ransomes should adorn her with the glory of his conquests.

But when she heard him protest he knew no such matter, nor ever saw Bogall till he bought him at Tchernavada, and that he was an Englishman, only by his adventures made a captain in those countries ; to try the truth, she found means to find out many who could speak English, French, Dutch

and Italian, to whom relating most part of these former passages she thought necessary, which they so honestly reported to her, she took (as it seemed) much compassion on him; but having no use for him, lest her mother should sell him, she sent him to her brother the Timor Pasha of Nalbrits in the county of Cambia, a province in Tary.

Here now let us remember his passing in this speculative course from Constantinople by Sanderlik, Serai, Panassa, Musa, Lascille to Varna, an ancient city upon the Black Sea. In all which journey, having little more liberty than his eyes judgment since his captivity, he might see the towns with their short towers, and a most plain fertile and delicate country, especially that most admired place of Greece, now called Rumaina, but from Varna, nothing but the Black Sea water till he came to the two Capes of Taur and Pergilos, where he passed the Strait of Yenikale, which (as he conjectured) is some ten leagues long, and three broad, betwixt two low lands, the channel is deep, but at the entrance of the Sea of Azov, there are many great osie shaulds, and many great black rocks which the Turks said were trees, weeds and mud thrown from the in-land countries by the inundations and violence of the current, and cast there by the eddy. They sailed by many low isles and saw many more of those muddy rocks, and nothing else

but salt-water, till they came betwixt Sirxu and Tcherkrsh, only two white towns at the entrance of the river Bruapo appeared. In six or seven days sail he saw four or five seeming strong castles of stone, with flat tops and battlements about them, but arriving at Cambia, he was (according to their custom) well used. The river was there more than half a mile broad. The castle was of a large circumference, fourteen or fifteen foot thick, in the foundation some six foot from the wall is a pallisade, and then a ditch of about forty foot broad, full of water. On the west-side of it is a town all of low flat houses, which as he conceived, could be of no great strength, yet it keeps all them barbarous countries about it in admiration and subjection. After he had stayed there three days it was two days more before his guides brought him to Nalbrits, where the Timor was then resident, in a great vast stone castle with many great courts about it, environed with high stone walls, where were quartered their arms when they first subjected those countries, which only live to labour for those tyrannical Turks.

To her unkind brother this kind lady writ so much for his good usage, that he half suspected as much as she intended; for she told him, he should there but sojourn to learn the language and what it was to be a Turk, till time made her master of herself. But the Timor, her brother, diverted all this

to the worst of cruelty ; for within an hour after his arrival he caused his drubman to strip him naked and shave his head and beard so bare as his hand, a great ring of iron with a long stalk bowed like a sickle riveted about his neck, and a coat made of ulgrie's hair, girded about with a piece of an undrest skin. There were many more Christian slaves, and near an hundred forsadoes [i.e. galley slaves] of Turks and Moors, and he being the last was slave of slaves to them all. Among these slavish fortunes there was no great choice, for the best was so bad, a dog could hardly have lived to endure, and yet for all their pains and labours no more regarded than a beast.

CHAPTER XIII

The Turks' diet ; the slaves' diet ; the attire of the Tartars ; and manner of wars and religion, etc.

THE Timor and his friends fed upon pillaw, which is boiled rice and garnances, with little bits of mutton or buckones, which is roasted pieces of horse, bull, ulgrie or any beasts. 'Samboyses' and 'muselbit' are great dainties, and yet but round pies, full of all sorts of flesh, they can get chopped with variety of herbs. Their best drink is coffee, of a grain they called 'coava,' boiled with water ; and sherbet, which is only honey and water ; mares' milk, or the milk of any beast they hold restorative ; but all the commonalty drink pure water. Their bread is made of this 'coava,' which is a kind of black wheat, and 'cuskus' a small white seed, like millet in Biscay : but our common victuals, the entrails of horses and ulgries ; of this, cut in small pieces, they will fill a great cauldron, and being boiled with cuskus, and put in great bowls in the

form of chaffing-dishes, they sit round about it on the ground : after they have raked it through, so oft as they please with their foul fists the remainder was for the Christian slaves. Some of this broth they would temper with cuskus pounded, and putting the fire off from the hearth pour there a bowl full, then cover it with coals till it be baked, which stewed with the remainder of the broth and some small pieces of flesh was an extraordinary dainty.

The better sort are attired like Turks, but the plain Tartar hath a black sheepskin over his back, and two of the legs tied about his neck ; the other two about his middle, with another over his belly, and the legs tied in like manner behind him : then two more, made like a pair of bases, serveth him for breeches ; with a little close cap to his skull of black felt, and they use exceeding much of this felt for carpets, for bedding, for coats and idols. Their houses are much worse than your Irish, but the inland countries have none but carts and tents, which they ever remove from country to country as they see occasion, driving with them infinite troops of black sheep, cattle and ulgries, eating all up before them as they go.

For the Tartars of Nagi, they have neither town, nor house, corn nor drink, but flesh and milk. The milk they keep in great skins like burrachoes, which though it be never so sower, (it) agreeth well with their strong stomachs.

They live all in hordes as do the Crim Tartars, three or four hundred in a company, in great carts fifteen or sixteen foot broad, which are covered with small rods, wattled together in the form of a bird's nest, turned upwards, and with the ashes of bones, tempered with oil, camel's hair, and a clay they have, they loam them so well that no weather can pierce them, and yet [they are] very light. Each hath a murse, which they obey as their king. Their gods are infinite. One or two thousand of those glittering white carts drawn with camels, deer, bulls and ulgries, they bring round in a ring, where they pitch their camp; and the murse, with his chief alliances are placed in the midst. They do much hurt, when they can get any stroggs, which are great boats used upon the river Volga, (which they call Edle) to them that dwell in the country of Perolog, and would do much more, were it not for the Muscovite garrisons that there inhabit.

CHAPTER XIV

The description of the Crim Tartars ; their houses and carts, their idolatry in their lodgings.

Now you are to understand, Tartary and Scythia are all one, but so large and spacious few or none could ever perfectly describe it, nor all the several kinds of those most barbarous people that inhabit it. Those we call the Crim Tartars border upon Moldavia, Podolia, Lithuania, and Russia, [and] are much more regular than the interior parts of Scythia. The great Tartarian Prince that hath so troubled all his neighbours, they always call khan, which signifieth emperor ; but we the Crim Tartar. He liveth for the most part in the best champion plains of many provinces ; and his removing court is like a great city of houses and tents drawn on carts, all so orderly placed east and west, on the right and left hand of the prince's house, which is always in the midst towards the south, before which none may pitch

their houses, every one knowing their order and quarter, as in an army. The prince's houses are very artificially wrought, both the foundation, sides and roof of wickers ascending round to the top like a dove-coat ; this they cover with white salt, or white earth tempered with the powder of bones, that it may shine the whiter ; sometimes with black felt, curiously painted with vines, trees, birds and beasts ; the breadth of the carts are eighteen or twenty foot, but the house stretcheth four or five foot over each side and is drawn with ten or twelve, or for more state, twenty camels and oxen. They have also great baskets made of smaller wickers, like great chests, with a covering of the same, all covered over with black felt, rubbed over with tallow and sheep's milk, to keep out the rain, prettily bedecked with painting or feathers ; in those they put their household stuff and treasure, drawn upon other carts for that purpose. When they take down their houses, they set the door always towards the south, and their carts thirty or forty foot distant on each side, east and west, as if they were two walls. The women also have most curious carts ; every one of his wives hath a great one for herself, and so many others for her attendants that there seem as many courts as he hath wives. One great Tartar or nobleman will have for his particular, more than an hundred of those houses and carts for his several offices

and uses, but set so far from each other they will seem like a great village. Having taken their houses from the carts, they place the master always towards the north ; over whose head is always an image like a puppet, made of felt, which they call his brother ; the women on his left-hand, and over the chief mistress' head such another brother, and between them a little one, which is the keeper of the house ; at the good wife's bed's feet is a kid's skin stuffed with wool, and near it a puppet looking towards the maids ; next the door another, with a dried cow's udder for the women that milk the kine, because only the men milk mares. Every morning those images in their orders they besprinkle with that they drink, be it ' coss-mos ' [mare's milk] or whatsoever, but all the white mare's milk is reserved for the prince. Then without the door, thrice to the south, every one bowing his knee in honour of the fire ; then the like to the east, in honour of the air ; then to the west, in honour of the water ; and lastly to the north, in behalf of the dead. After the servant hath done this duty to the four quarters of the world he returns into the house, where his fellows stand waiting, ready with two cups and two basins, to give their master and his wife that lay with him that night to wash and drink, who must keep him company all the day following, and all his other wives come thither to drink, where he keeps his house

that day ; and all the gifts presented him till night are laid up in her chests ; and at the door a bench full of cups, and drink for any of them to make merry.

CHAPTER XV

Their feasts, common diet, prince's estate, buildings, tributes, laws, slaves, entertainment of ambassadors.

FOR their feasts they have all sorts of beasts, birds, fish, fruits and herbs they can get, but the more variety of wild ones is the best ; to which they have excellent drink made of rice, millet and honey—like wine ; they have also wine, but in summer they drink most ‘ cossmos,’ that standeth ready always at the entrance of the door, and by it a fidler. When the master of the house beginneth to drink, they all cry ha, ha, and the fidler plays, then they all clap their hands and dance, the men before their masters, the women before their mistresses ; and ever when he drinks they cry as before ; then the fidler stayeth till they drink all round. Sometimes they will drink for the victory ; and to provoke one to drink they will pull him by the ears, and lug and draw him, to stretch and heat him, clapping their hands, stamping with their feet, and dancing before

the champions, offering them cups, then draw them back again to increase their appetite ; and thus continue till they be drunk or their drink done, which they hold an honour and no infirmity.

Though the ground be fertile they sow little corn, yet the gentlemen have bread and honey-wine ; grapes they have plenty, and wine privately, and good flesh and fish ; but the common sort have stamped millet, mingled with milk and water. They call ' cassa ' for meat, and drink anything ; also any beast unprofitable for service they kill when they are like to die, or however they die they will eat them, guts, liver and all ; but the most fleshy parts they cut in thin slices, and hang it up in the sun and wind without salting, where it will dry so hard it will not putrefy in a long time. A ram they esteem a great feast among forty or fifty, which they cut in pieces boiled or roasted, and put it in a great bowl with salt and water—for other sauce they have none. The master of the feast giveth every one a piece, which he eateth by himself or carrieth away with him. Thus their hard fare makes them so infinite in cattle, and their great number of captivated women to breed upon makes them so populous. But near the Christian frontiers the baser sort make little cottages of wood, called ulusi, daubed over with dirt, and beasts dung covered with sedge ; yet in summer they leave them, beginning their

progress in April, with their wives, children and slaves in their carted houses, scarce convenient for four or five persons ; driving their flocks towards Precopia, and sometimes into Taurica or Osow, a town upon the river Tanais, which is great and swift, where the Turk hath a garrison ; and in October return again to their cottages. Their clothes are the skins of dogs, goats and sheep, lined with cotton cloth made of their finest wool ; for of their worst they make their felt which they use in abundance, as well for shoes and caps as houses, beds and idols ; also of the coarse wool mingled with horse hair they make all their cordage. Notwithstanding this wandering life their princes sit in great state upon beds or carpets, and with great reverence are attended both by men and women, and richly served in plate, and great silver cups, delivered upon the knee, attired in rich furs lined with plush, or taffety, or robes of tissue. These Tartars possess many large and goodly plains wherein feed innumerable herds of horse and cattle, as well wild as tame ; which are elkes, bisons, horses, deer, sheep, goats, swine, bears and divers others.

In those countries are the ruins of many fair monasteries, castles and cities, as Bacasaray, Salutium, Almassary. Precopia, Cremum, Sedacom, Capha, and divers others by the sea, but all kept with strong garrisons for the great Turk, who yearly by trade or

traffick receiveth the chief commodities those fertile countries afford, as bezoar, rice, furs, hides, butter, salt, cattle and slaves, yet by the spoils they get from the secure and idle Christians they maintain themselves in this pomp, also their wives, of whom they have as many as they will, very costly, yet in a constant custom with decency.

They are Mahometans, as are the Turks, from whom also they have their laws, but no lawyers nor attornies, only judges, and justices in every village or horde; but capital criminals, or matters of moment are tried before the Khan himself, or privy-councils of whom they are always heard, and speedily discharged; for any may have access at any time to them, before whom they appear with great reverence, adoring their princes as gods and their spiritual judges as saints; for justice is with such integrity and expedition executed, without covetousness, bribery, partiality and brawling, that in six months they have sometimes scarce six causes to hear. About the prince's court none but his guard wear any weapon, but abroad they go very strong, because there are many bandittoes and thieves.

They use the Hungarian, Russian, Wallachian and Moldavian slaves (whereof they have plenty) as beast to every work; and those Tartars that serve the Khan, or noblemen, have only victuals and apparel, the

rest are generally nasty and idle, naturally miserable, and in their wars better thieves than soldiers.

This Khan hath yearly a donation from the King of Poland, the dukes of Lithuania, Moldavia, and [the] Nagayon Tartars. Their messengers commonly he useth bountifully and very nobly, but sometimes most cruelly. When any of them do bring their presents, by his household officers they are entertained in a plain field, with a moderate proportion of flesh, bread and wine, for once ; but when they come before him, the Sultans, Tuians, Ulans, Marhies, his chief officers and councillors attend. One man only bringeth the ambassador to the court gate, but to the Khan he is led between two councillors ; where saluting him upon their bended knees, they declaring their message, are admitted to eat with him, and presented with a great silver cup full of mead from his own hand, but they drink it upon their knees. When they are dispatched, he invites them again ; the feast ended they go back a little from the palace door and are rewarded with silk vestures, wrought with gold down to their ankles, with an horse or two, and sometimes a slave of their own nation ; in those robes presently they come to him again, to give him thanks, take their leave, and so depart.

CHAPTER XVI

How he levieth an army ; their arms and provision ; how he divideth the spoil, and his service to the great Turk.

WHEN he intends any wars he must first have leave of the great Turk, whom he is bound to assist when he commandeth, receiving daily for himself and chief of his nobility pensions from the Turk, that holds all kings but slaves, that pay tribute, or are subject to any : signifying his intent to all his subjects within a month commonly he raiseth his army, and every man is to furnish himself for three months with victuals, which is parched millet, or ground to meal, which they ordinarily mingle with water (as is said) ; hard cheese or curds dried and beaten to powder (a little will make much water like milk) ; and dried flesh. This they put also up in sacks. The Khan and his nobles have some bread and *aqua vitæ*, and quick cattle to kill when they please, wherewith very sparingly they are contented. Being provided with expert guides,

and got into the country he intends to invade, he sends forth his scouts to bring in what prisoners they can, from whom he will wrest the utmost of their knowledge fit for his purpose. Having advised with his council what is most fit to be done, the nobility, according to their antiquity, doth march ; then moves he with his whole army. If he find there is no enemy to oppose him he adviseth how far they shall invade, commanding every man (upon pain of his life) to kill all the obvious rustics, but not to hurt any women or children.

Ten or fifteen thousand he commonly placeth where he findeth most convenient for his standing camp ; the rest of his army he divides in several troops, bearing ten or twelve miles square before them, and ever within three or four days return to their camp, putting all to fire and sword but that they carry with them back to their camp ; and in this scattering manner he will invade a country and be gone with his prey with an incredible expedition. But if he understand of an enemy he will either fight in ambuscade or fly ; for he will never fight any battle if he can choose [i.e. avoid it] but upon treble advantage ; yet by his innumerable flights of arrows, I have seen fly from his flying troops, we could not well judge whether his fighting or flying was most dangerous, so good is his horse, and so expert his bowmen ; but if they be so entangled they must fight

there is none can be more hardy or resolute in their defences.

Regaining his own borders, he takes the tenth of the principal captives, man, woman, child or beast (but his captains that take them will accept of some particular person they best like for themselves); the rest are divided amongst the whole army according to every man's desert and quality; that they keep them or sell them to who will give most. But they will not forget to use all the means they can to know their estates, friends and quality, and the better they find you the worse they will use you, till you do agree to pay such a ransome as they will impose upon you; therefore many great persons have endured much misery to conceal themselves, because their ransoms are so intolerable; their best hope is of some Christian agent that many times cometh to redeem slaves, either with money or man for man; those agents knowing so well the extreme covetousness of the Tartars, do use to bribe some Jew or merchant, that feigning they will sell them again to some other nation, are oft redeemed for a very small ransom.

But to this Tartarian army, when the Turk commands, he goeth with some small artillery; and the Nagayans, Precopeans, Crims, Osovens and Circassians are his tributaries; but the Petigorves, Oczaconians, Bialogordens and Dobrucen Tartars the Turk by

covenant commands to follow him, so that from all those Tartars he hath had an army of an hundred and twenty thousand excellent, swift, stomachful Tartarian horse, for foot they have none. Now the Khan, his sultans and nobility, use Turkish, Caramanian, Arabian, Parthian and other strange Tartarian horses ; the swiftest they esteem the best ; seldom they feed any more at home than they have present use for ; but upon their plains is a short wood-like heath, in some countries like gale, full of berries, much better than any grass.

Their arms are such as they have surprised or got from the Christians or Persians, both brest-plates, swords, scimitars, and helmets ; bows and arrows they make most themselves ; also their bridles and saddles are indifferent, but [those of] the nobility in whom consisteth their greatest glory are very handsome and [they are] well armed like the Turks ; the ordinary sort have little armour, some a plain yeung pole unshaven, headed with a piece of iron for a lance ; some an old Christian pike, or a Turk's cavarinel ; yet those tatterdemallions will have two or three horses, some four or five, as well for service as for to eat ; which makes their armies seem thrice so many as there are soldiers. The Khan himself hath about his person 10,000 chosen Tartars and janizaries, and some small ordnance ; and a white mare's tail, with a piece of green taffity on a great pike,

is carried before him for a standard ; because they hold no beast so precious as a white mare, whose milk is only for the king and nobility, and to sacrifice to their idols, but the rest have ensigns of divers colours.

For all this miserable knowledge, furniture, and equipage, the mischief they do in Christendom is wonderful, by reason of their hardness of life and constitution, obedience, agility, and their emperor's bounty, honours, grace, and dignities he ever bestoweth upon those that have done him any memorable service in the face of his enemies.

The Caspian Sea most men agree that have passed it, to be in length about 200 leagues, and in breadth 150, environed to the east with the great deserts of the Tartars of Turkomania ; to the west by the Circassians and the Caucasus mountains ; to the north, by the river Volga, and the land of Nagay ; and to the south, by Media and Persia. This sea is fresh water in many places, in others as salt as the great ocean ; it hath many great rivers which fall into it, as the mighty river of Volga, which is like a sea, running near 2,000 miles through many great and large countries, that send into it many other great rivers : also out of Siberia, Yaick, and Yem, out of the great Caucasus mountains, the river Sirus, Arash, and divers others, yet no sea nearer it than the Black Sea, which is at least 100 leagues distant. In which country live the Georgians, now

part Armenians, part Nestorians; it is neither found to increase or diminish, or empty itself any ways except it be under ground, and in some places they can find no ground at 200 fathom.

Many other most strange and wonderful things are in the land of Cathay towards the north-east; and China towards the south-east, where are many of the most famous kingdoms in the world, where most arts, plenty, and curiosities are in such abundance as might seem incredible, which hereafter I will relate as I have briefly gathered from such authors as have lived there.

CHAPTER XVII

*How Captain Smith escaped his captivity ;
slew the Pasha of Nalbrits in Cambia ;
his passage to Russia, Transylvania,
and the midst of Europe to Africa.*

ALL the hope he had ever to be delivered from this thralldom was only the love of Tragabigzanda, who surely was ignorant of his bad usage ; for although he had often debated the matter with some Christians that had been there a long time slaves, they could not find how to make an escape by any reason or possibility ; but God beyond man's expectation or imagination helpeth his servants when they least think of help, as it happened to him. So long he lived in this miserable estate as he became a thresher at a grange [or barn] in a great field, more than a league from the Timor's house ; the Pasha, as he oft used to visit his granges, visited him and took occasion so to beat, spurn, and revile him, that forgetting all reason he beat out the Timor's brains with his threshing bat, for they have no flails ; and seeing

his estate could be no worse than it was, clothed himself in the Timor's clothes, hid the body under the straw, filled his knapsack with corn, shut the doors, mounted the horse, and ran into the desert at all adventures; two or three days thus fearfully wandering he knew not whither, and well it was he met not any to ask the way. Being even as taking leave of this miserable world God did direct him to the great way or castragan, as they call it, which doth cross these large territories, and generally known among them by these marks.

In every crossing of this great way is planted a post, and in it so many bobs with broad ends as there be ways, and every bob the figure painted on it, that demonstrateth to what part that way leadeth; as that which pointeth towards the Crim's country is marked with a half moon; if towards the Georgians and Persians, a black man, full of white spots; if towards China, the picture of the sun; if towards Muscovy, the sign of a cross; if towards the habitation of any other prince the figure whereby his standard is known. To his dying spirits thus God added some comfort in this melancholy journey, wherein if he had met any of that vile generation they had made him their slave, or knowing the figure engraven in the iron about his neck (as all slaves have) he had been sent back again to his master; sixteen days he travelled in this

fear and torment, after the cross, till he arrived at Ecopolis, upon the river Don, a garrison of the Muscovites. The governor after due examination of those his hard events took off his irons, and so kindly used him he thought himself new risen from the dead, and the good lady Callamata, largely supplied all his wants.

This is as much as he could learn of those wild countries, that the country of Cambia is two days journey from the head of the great river Bruapo, which springeth from many places of the mountains of Innagachi, that join themselves together in the pool Kerkas ; which they account for the head, and falleth into the Sea of Azov, called by some the Lake Mœotis, which receiveth also the river Tanais and all the rivers that fall from the great countries of the Circassi, the Cartaches, and many from the Tauricaes, Precoptes, Cummani, Cossunka, and the Crim ; through which sea he sailed, and up the river Bruapo to Nalbrits, and thence through the deserts of Circassi to Ecopolis, as is related ; where he stayed with the governor till the convoy went to Caragnaw ; then with his certificate how he found him and had examined with his friendly letters, sent him by Zumalack to Caragnaw, whose governor in like manner so kindly used him, that by this means he went with a safe conduct to Letch and Donko in Cologoske, and thence to Berniske and Newgrod in Siberia, by

Rezechica, upon the river Nieper, in the confines of Lithuania; from whence with as much kindness, he was convoyed in like manner by Coroski, Duberesko, Duzihell, Drohobus, and Ostroge in Volonia; Saslaw, and Lasco in Podolia; Halico and Colonia in Polonia; and so to Hermannstadt in Transylvania. In all this his life he seldom met with more respect, mirth, content and entertainment; and not any governor where he came but gave him somewhat as a present, besides his charges; seeing themselves as subject to the like calamity. Through those poor continually foraged countries there is no passage but with the caravans or convoys; for they are countries rather to be pitied than envied; and it is a wonder any should make wars for them. The villages are only here and there, a few houses or straight fir trees laid heads and points above one another, made fast by notches at the ends, more than a man's height, and with broad split boards pinned together with wooden pins, as thatched for coverture. In ten villages you shall scarce find ten iron nails, except it be in some extraordinary man's house. For their towns Ecopoli, Letch and Donko, have ramparts made of that wooden walled fashion, double, and betwixt them earth and stones, but so latched with cross timber they are very strong against anything but fire; and about them a deep ditch and a palisade of young

makers, so much he delighted in the reformation of workmanship he allowed each of them ten shillings a day standing fee, linen, woollen, silks, and what they would for diet and apparel and custom free to transport or import what they would ; for there were scarce any of those qualities in his kingdom, but those, of which there are divers of them, living at this present in London. Amongst the rest, one Mr Henry Archer, a watch-maker, walking in Morocco, from the Alfantica to the Juderea, the way being very foul, met a great priest, or a Sante (as they call all great clergymen) who would have thrust him into the dirt for the way, but Archer not knowing what he was, gave him a box on the ear ; presently he was apprehended and condemned to have his tongue cut out, and his hand cut off. But no sooner it was known at the king's court but 300 of his guard came and broke open the prison and delivered him, although the fact was next degree to treason.

Concerning this Archer there is one thing more worth noting. Not far from Mount Atlas, a great lioness in the heat of the day did use to bathe herself, and teach her young puppies to swim in the river Cauzef, of a good breadth ; yet she would carry them one after another over the river ; which some Moors perceiving, watched their opportunity, and when the river was between her and them, stole four of her whelps,

which she perceiving, with all the speed she could passed the river, and coming near them, they let fall a whelp (and fled with the rest) which she took in her mouth, and so returned to the rest. A male and a female of those they gave Mr Archer who kept them in the king's garden, till the male killed the female, then he brought it up as puppy-dog lying upon his bed, till it grew so great as a mastiff, and no dog more tame or gentle to them he knew. But being to return to England, at Saffi he gave him to a merchant of Marseilles, that presented him to the French king, who sent him to King James, where it was kept in the Tower seven years. After, one Mr John Bull, then servant to Mr Archer, with divers of his friends, went to see the lions, not knowing anything at all of him; yet this rare beast smelled him before he saw him, whining, groaning and tumbling, with such an expression of acquaintance, that being informed by the keepers how he came thither, Mr Bull so prevailed [that] the keeper opened the grate, and Bull went in. But no dog could fawn more on his master, than the lion on him, licking his feet, hands and face, skipping and tumbling to and fro, to the wonder of all the beholders; being satisfied with his acquaintance, he made shift to get out of the grate. But when the lion saw his friend gone, no beast by bellowing, roaring, scratching and howling, could

express more rage and sorrow ; nor in four days after would he either eat or drink.

In Morocco the king's lions are altogether in a court environed with a great high wall ; to those they put a young puppy-dog. The greatest lion had a sore upon his neck which this dog so licked that he was healed. The lion defended him from the fury of all the rest, nor durst they eat till the dog and he had fed ; this dog grew great, and lived amongst them many years after.

Fez also is a most large and plentiful country. The chief city is called Fez, divided into two parts ; old Fez, containing about 80 thousand households, the other 4,000, pleasantly situated upon a river in the heart of Barbary, part upon hills, part upon plains, full of people and all sorts of merchandise. The great temple is called Carucen, in breadth 17 arches, in length 120, born up with 2,500 white marble pillars. Under the chief arch, where the tribunal is kept, hangeth a most huge lamp, compassed with 110 lesser, under the other also hang great lamps, and about some are burning 1,500 lights. They say they were all made of the bells the Arabians brought from Spain. It hath three gates of notable height, priests and officers so many that the circuit of the church, the yard, and other houses, is little less than a mile and a half in compass. There are in

this city 200 schools, 200 inns, 400 water-mills, 600 water-conduits, 700 temples and oratories ; but 50 of them most stately and richly furnished. Their Alcazer or Burse [i.e. Bazaar] is walled about, it hath twelve gates, and fifteen walks covered with tents to keep the sun from the merchants and them that come there. The king's palace, both for strength and beauty is excellent, and the citizens have many great privileges. Those two countries of Fez and Morocco are the best part of all Barbary, abounding with people, cattle, and all good necessities for man's use. For the rest, as the Larbs or mountaineers, the kingdoms of Cocow, Algeria, Tripoli, Tunis and Egypt ; there are many large histories of them in divers languages, especially that writ by that most excellent statesman, John de Leo, who afterwards turned Christian. The unknown countries of Guine and Binn, these twenty-six years have been frequented with a few English ships only to trade, especially the river of Senega, by Captain Brimstead, Captain Brocket, Mr Crump, and divers others. Also the great river of Gambria, by Captain Jobson, who is returned thither again, in the year 1626 with Mr William Grent, and thirteen or fourteen others, to stay in the country, to discover some way of those rich mines of Gao or Tumbuktu, from whence it is supposed the Moors of Barbary have their gold, and the

certainty of those supposed descriptions and relations of those interior parts, which daily the more they are sought into, the more they are corrected ; for surely those interior parts of Africa, are little known to either English, French or Dutch, though they use much the coast ; therefore we will make little bold with the observations of the Portugals.

CHAPTER XIX

The strange discoveries and observations of the Portuguese in Africa.

THE Portuguese on those parts have the glory, who first coasting along this western shore of Africa to find passage to the East-Indies, within this 150 years, even from the Straits of Gibraltar, about the Cape of Good Hope to the Persian Gulf, and thence all along the Asian coast to the Moluccas, have subjected many great kingdoms, erected many commonwealths, built many great and strong cities; and where is it they have not been by trade or force? No not so much as Cape Verd and Sierra Leone; but most bays or rivers where there is any trade to be had, especially gold or conveniency for refreshment, but they are scattered; living so amongst those blacks, by time and cunning they seem to be naturalised amongst them. As for the isles of the Canaries, they have fair towns, many villages, and many thousands of people rich in commodities.

Edward Lopez, a noble Portuguese, Anno Dom. 1578, embarking himself for Congo, to trade where he found such entertainment, finding the king much oppressed with enemies he found means to bring in the Portuguese to assist him, whereby he planted there Christian religion, and spent most of his life to bring those countries to the crown of Portugal, which he describeth in this manner.

The kingdom of Congo is about 600 miles diameter any way, the chief city, called St Salvadore, seated upon an exceeding high mountain, 150 miles from the sea, very fertile, and inhabited with more than 100,000 persons, where is an excellent prospect over all the plain countries about it well watered, lying (as it were) in the centre of this kingdom, over all which the Portuguese now command, though but an handful in comparison to the negroes. They have flesh and fruits very plentiful of divers sorts.

⌚ This kingdom is divided into five provinces, viz. Bamba, Sundi, Pango, Batta and Pembo ; but Bamba is the principal, and can afford 400,000 men of war. Elephants are bred over all those provinces, and of wonderful greatness ; though some report, they cannot kneel nor lie down, they can do both, and have their joints as other creatures for use. With their fore-feet they will leap upon trees to pull down the boughs,

and are of that strength they will shake a great coco tree for the nuts, and pull down a good tree with their tusks to get the leaves to eat, as well as sedge and long grass, coco nuts and berries. etc., which with their trunk they put in their mouth, and chew it with their smaller teeth. In most of those provinces, are many rich mines, but the negroes opposed the Portuguese for working in them.

The kingdom of Angola is wonderful populous, and rich in mines of silver, copper, and most other metals ; fruitful in all manner of food, and sundry sorts of cattle, but dogs flesh they love better than any other meat ; they use few clothes, and no armour ; bows, arrows and clubs are their weapons. But the Portuguese are well armed against those engines, and do buy yearly of those blacks more than five thousand slaves, and many are people exceeding well proportioned.

The Anchios are a most valiant nation, but most strange to all about them. Their arms are bows, short and small, wrapped about with serpents skins of divers colours, but so smooth you would think them all one with the wood, and it makes them very strong ; their strings little twigs, but exceeding tough and flexible ; their arrows short, which they shoot with an incredible quickness. They have short axes of brass and copper for swords ; wonderful, loyal and faithful, and exceeding simple, yet so active they skip amongst the rocks like

goats. They trade with them of Nubia and Congo for lamach, which is a small kind of shell-fish, of an excellent azure colour, male and female, but the female they hold most pure ; they value them at divers prices because they are of divers sorts, and those they use for coin, to buy and sell as we do gold and silver ; nor will they have any other money in all those countries, for which they give elephants teeth ; and slaves for salt, silk, linen cloth, glass-beads, and such like Portuguese commodities.

They circumcise themselves, and mark their faces with sundry slashes from their infancy. They keep shambles of mens flesh, as if it were beef or other victuals ; for when they cannot have a good market for their slaves, or their enemies they take, they kill and sell them in this manner. Some are so resolute in shewing how much they scorn death, they will offer themselves and slaves, to this butchery, to their prince and friends ; and though there be many nations will eat their enemies in America and Asia, yet none but those are known to be so made as to eat their slaves and friends also.

Religions and idols they have as many as nations and humours ; but the devil hath the greatest part of their devotions, whom all those blacks do say is white ; for there are no saints but blacks.

But besides those great kingdoms of Congo,

Angola and Azichi, in those unfrequented parts are the kingdoms of Lango, Matania, Battua, Sofala, Mozambique, Quivola, the Isle of St Lawrence, Mombasa, Melinda, the empires of Monomotapa, Monomoey and Presbyter John, with whom they have a kind of trade, and their rites, customs, climates, temperatures and commodities by relation; also great lakes that deserve the names of seas, and huge mountains of divers sorts, as some scorched with heat, some covered with snow; the mountains of the sun, also of the moon, some of chrystal, some of iron, some of silver, and mountains of gold, with the original of Nilus; likewise sundry sorts of cattle, fishes, fowls, strange beasts and monstrous serpents; for Africa was always noted to be a fruitful mother of such terrible creatures, who meeting at their watering places, which are but ponds in desert places, in regard of the heat of the country and their extremities of nature, make strange copulations, and so engender those extraordinary monsters. Of all these you may read in the history of this Edward Lopez, translated into English by Abraham Hartwel, and dedicated to John, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, 1597. But because the particulars are most concerning the conversion of those pagans by a good poor priest, that first converted a noble man; to convert the king and the rest of the nobility, sent for so many

priests and ornaments into Portugal, to solemnise their baptisms with such magnificence ; which was performed with such strange curiosities that those poor negroes adored them as gods, till the priests grew to that wealth a bishop was sent to rule over them, which they would not endure, which endangered to spoil all before they could be reconciled. But not to trouble you too long with those rarities of uncertainties ; let us return again to Barbary, where the wars being ended, and Befferres possessed of Morocco and his father's treasure, a new bruit arose amongst them, that Muley Sidan was raising an army against him, who after took his brother Befferres prisoner ; but by reason of the uncertainty, and the perfidious, treacherous, bloody murders rather than war, amongst those perfidious, barbarous Moors, Smith returned with Merham and the rest to Saffi, and so aboard his ship, to try some other conclusions at sea.

CHAPTER XX

A brave sea-fight betwixt two Spanish men-of-war, and Captain Merham, with Smith.

MERHAM, a captain of a man-of-war then in the road, invited Captain Smith and two or three more of them aboard with him, where he spared not any thing he had to express his kindness to bid them welcome till it was too late to go on shore, so that necessity constrained them to stay aboard ; a fairer evening could not be ; yet ere midnight such a storm did arise, they were forced to let slip cable and anchor and put to sea ; spooning before the wind till they were driven to the Canaries ; in the calms they accommodated themselves, hoping this strange accident might yet produce some good event ; not long it was before they took a small bark coming from Teneriffe loaded with wine ; three or four more they chased, two they took but found little in them save a few passengers that told them of five Dutch men-of-war, about the isles ; so that they stood for Bojador upon the

African shore, betwixt which and Cape Noa [Nun ?] they descryed two sail. Merham intending to know what they were hailed them ; very civilly they danced their topsails, and desired the man-of-war to come aboard them and take what he would, for they were but two poor distressed Biscayners. But Merham, the old fox, seeing himself in the lion's paw, sprung his luff, the other tacked after him and came close up to his nether quarter, gave his broadside, and so luffed up to windward ; the Vice Admiral did the like, and at the next bout, the Admiral with a noise of trumpets, and all his ordnance, murtherers and muskets, boarded him on his broadside ; the other in like manner on his lee quarter, that it was so dark there was little light, but fire and smoke ; long he stayed not, before he fell off, leaving four or five of his men sprawling over the grating ; after they had battered Merham about an hour they boarded him again as before, and threw four kedgers or grapnels in iron chains, then shearing off they thought so to have torn down the grating ; but the Admiral's yard was so intangled in the shrouds, Merham had time to discharge two cross-bar shot amongst them, and divers bolts of iron made for that purpose against his bow, that made such a breach he feared they both should have sunk for company ; so that the Spaniard was as ware in slipping his chained grapnels, as

Merham was in cutting the tackling, kept fast their yards in his shrouds; the Vice Admiral presently cleared himself, but spared neither his ordnance nor muskets to keep Merham from getting away till the admiral had repaired his leak; from twelve at noon till six at night they thus interchanged one volley for another; then the Vice Admiral fell on stern, staying for the Admiral that came up again to him, and all that night stood after Merham, that shaped his course for Mamora; but such small way they made, the next morning they were not three leagues off from Cape Noa [Nun?]. The two Spanish men-of-war, for so they were, and well appointed, taking it in scorn as it seemed with their chase, broadside and stern, the one after the other, within musket shot, plying their ordnance: and after an hour's work commanded Merham amain for the king of Spain upon fair quarter; Merham drank to them, and so discharged his quarter-pieces. Which pride the Spaniard to revenge, boarded him again, and many of them were got to the top to unsling the mainsail, which the master and some others from the round-house caused to their cost to come tumbling down; about the round-house the Spaniards were so pestered that they were forced to the great cabin and blew it up; the smoke and fire was so vehement (as) they thought the ship on fire; they in the forecastle were no less

assaulted that they blew up a piece of the grating, with a great many of Spaniards more ; then they cleared themselves with all speed, and Merham with as much expedition to quench the fire with wet cloths and water, which began to grow. The Spaniard still playing upon him with all the shot they could ; the open places presently they covered with old sails, and prepared themselves to fight to the last man. The angry Spaniard seeing the fire quenched hung out a flag of truce to have but a parley ; but that desperate Merham knew there was but one way with him, and would have none but the report of his ordnance, which he did know well how to use for his best advantage. Thus they spent the next afternoon, and half the night, when the Spaniards either lost them or left them. Seven and twenty men Merham had slain, and sixteen wounded, and could find they had received 140 great shot. A wounded Spaniard they kept alive confessed they had lost 100 men in the Admiral's ship, which they did fear would sink ere she could recover a port. Thus reaccommodating their sails, they sailed for Santa Cruse, Cape Ghir and Mogadore, till they came again to Saffi, and then he returned into England.

CHAPTER XXI

The continuation of the general history of Virginia, the Summer-Isles and New-England; with their present estate from 1624 to this present 1627.

CONCERNING these countries I would be sorry to trouble you with repeating one thing twice, as with their maps, commodities, people, government and religion yet known; the beginning of these plantations, their numbers and names, with the names of the adventurers, the yearly proceedings of every governor both here and there. As for the misprisions, neglect, grievances, and the causes of all those rumours, losses and crosses that have happened, I refer you to the General History, where you shall find all this at large, especially to those pages where you may read my letter of advice to the council and company, what of necessity must be done or lose all and leave the country, page 70, what commodities I sent home, page 163, my opinion and offer to the company to feed and

defend the colonies, page 150, my account to them here of my actions there, page 163, my seven answers to His Majesty's commissioners, seven questions what hath hindered Virginia, and the remedy, page 165. How those noble gentlemen spent near two years in perusing all letters came from thence; and the differences betwixt many factions, both here and there, with their complaints; especially about the salary which should have been a new office in London for the well ordering the sale of tobacco, that 2,500 pounds should yearly have been raised out of it, to pay four or five hundred pounds yearly to the governor of that company, two or three hundred to his deputy; the rest into stipends of forty or fifty pounds yearly for their clerks and other officers which were never there, page 153; but not one hundred pounds for all them in Virginia, nor anything for the most part of the adventurers in England, except the undertakers for the lotteries, setters out of ships, adventurers of commodities, also their factors and many other officers, there employed only by friendship to raise their fortunes out of the labours of the true industrious planters by the title of their office, who under the colour of sincerity did pillage and deceive all the rest most cunningly. For more than 150,000 pounds have been spent out of the common stock, besides many thousands have been there

consumed, and near 7,000 people that there died, only for want of good order and government, otherwise long ere this there would have been more than 20,000 people, where after twenty years spent only in complement and trying new conclusions, was remaining scarce 1,500, with some few cattle.

Then the company dissolved, but no account of anything; so that His Majesty appointed commissioners to oversee and give order for their proceedings. Being thus in a manner left to themselves, since then within these four years you shall see how wonderfully they have increased beyond expectation. But so exactly as I desired, I cannot relate unto you; for although I have tired myself in seeking and discoursing with those returned thence, more than would a voyage to Virginia; few can tell me anything, but of that place or places they have inhabited, and he is a great traveller that hath gone up and down the river of James Town, been at Pamunkey Smith-Isles, or Accomack; wherein for the most part they keep one tune of their now particular abundance and their former wants, having been there, some sixteen years, some twelve, some six, some near twenty, etc. But of their general estate, or anything of worth, the most of them do know very little to any purpose.

Now the most I could understand in general, was from the relation of Mr Nathaniel

Cawsey, that lived there with me, and returned Anno Dom. 1627 ; and some others affirm Sir George Yerely was Governor, Captain Francis West, Dr John Pott, Captain Roger Smith, Captain Matthews, Captain Tucker, Mr Clabourn and Mr Farrer, of the Council. Their habitations are many. The Governor, with two or three of the Council, are for most part at James Town, the rest repair thither as there is occasion ; but every three months they have a general meeting to consider of their public affairs.

Their numbers then were about 1,500, some say rather 2,000, divided into seventeen or eighteen several plantations ; the greatest part thereof, towards the falls, are so inclosed with pallisades they regard not the savages ; and amongst those plantations above James Town, they have now found means to take plenty of fish, as well with lines as nets, and where the waters are the largest, having means they need not want.

Upon this river they seldom see any savages, but in the woods many times their fires. Yet some few there are, that upon their opportunity have slain some few stragglers, which have been revenged with the death of so many of themselves ; but no other attempt hath been made upon them this two or three years.

Their cattle, namely oxen, kine, bulls,

they imagine to be about 2,000; goats great store and great increase: the wild hogs which are infinite, are destroyed and eaten by the savages; but no family is so poor that hath not tame swine sufficient; and for poultry, he is a very bad husband, that breedeth not an hundred in a year, and the richer sort doth daily feed on them.

For bread they have plenty, and so good that those that make it well, better cannot be. Divers have much English corn, especially Mr Abraham Perce, which prepared this year to sow two hundred acres of English wheat, and as much with barley, feeding daily about the number of sixty persons at his own charges.

For drink, some malt the Indian corn, others barley, of which they make good ale, both strong and small, and such plenty thereof few of the upper planters drink any water. But the better sort are well furnished with sack, aqua vitæ and good English beer.

The servants commonly feed upon milk hominy, which is bruised Indian corn pounded and boiled thick, and milk for the sauce; but boiled with milk the best of all will feed oft on it, and leave their flesh; with milk, butter and cheese; with fish, bulls' flesh, for they seldom kill any other, etc. And every one is so applied to his labour about tobacco and corn, which doth yield them such profit, they never regarded

any food from the savages, nor have they any trade or conference with them, but upon mere accidents and defiances. And now the merchants have left it, there having gone so many voluntary ships within these two years as have furnished them with apparel, sack, aqua vitæ, and all necessities, much better than any before.

For arms, there is scarce any man but he is furnished with a piece, a jack, a coat of mail, a sword or rapier; and every holiday, every plantation doth exercise their men in arms, by which means, hunting and fowling, the most part of them are most excellent marksmen.

For discoveries they have made none, nor any other commodity than tobacco do they apply themselves unto, though never any was planted at first. And whereas the country was heretofore held most intemperate and contagious by many, now they have houses, lodgings, victuals, and the sun hath power to exhale up the moist vapours of the earth where they have cut down the wood, which before it could not, being covered with spreading tops of high trees; they find it much more healthful than before; and for their numbers few countries are less troubled with death, sickness or any other disease, or have their overgrown women become more fruitful.

Since this, Sir George Yerely died 1628; Captain West succeeded him, but about

a year after returned for England. Now Dr Pott is governor, and the rest of the council as before. James Town is yet their chief seat, most of the wood destroyed, little corn there planted, but all converted into pasture and gardens, wherein doth grow all manner of herbs and roots we have in England, in abundance, and as good grass as can be. Here most of their cattle do feed, their owners being most some one way, some another about their plantations, and return again when they please, or any shipping comes in to trade. Here in the winter they have hay for their cattle, but in other places they browse upon wood, and the great husks of their corn, with some corn in them, doth keep them well. Mr Hutchins saith they have 2,000 cattle, and about 5,000 people; but Master Floud, John Davis, William Emerson, and divers others say about 5,000 people, and 5,000 kine, calves, oxen and bulls; for goats, hog and poultry, corn, fish, deer, and many sorts of other wild beast, and fowl in their season, they have so much more than they spend, they are able to feed three or four hundred more than they have; and do oft much relieve many ships, both there and for their return; and this last year was there at least two or three and twenty sale. They have oft much salt-fish from New England, but fresh fish enough when they will take it; peaches in abundance at

Kekoughtan ; apples, pears, apricots, vines, figs, and other fruits some have planted that prospered exceedingly, but their diligence about tobacco, left them to be spoiled by the cattle, yet now they begin to revive. Mrs Pearce, an honest industrious woman, hath been there near twenty years, and now returned, faith, she hath a garden at James Town containing three or four acres, where in one year she hath gathered near an hundred bushels of excellent figs ; and that of her own provision she can keep a better house in Virginia than here in London for 3 or 400 pounds a year, yet went thither with little or nothing. They have some tame geese, ducks and turkies. The masters now do so train up their servants and youths in shooting deer and fowl that the youths will kill them as well as their masters. They have two brew-houses, but they find the Indian corn so much better than ours, they begin to leave sowing it. Their cities and towns are only scattered houses they call plantations, as our country villages, but no ordnance mounted. The forts Captain Smith left a-building, so ruined, there is scarce mention where they were ; no discoveries of anything more than the curing of tobacco, by which, hitherto, being so present a commodity of gain it hath brought them to this abundance ; but that they are so disjointed, and every one commander of himself to plant what he will : They are

now so well provided that they are able to subsist, if they would join together, now to work upon soap-ashes, iron, rape-oil, madder, pitch and tar, flax and hemp; as for their tobacco, there comes from many places such abundance, and the charge so great, it is not worth the bringing home.

There is gone, and now agoing, divers ships, as Captain Perse, Captain Prine, with Sir John Harvey to be their governor, with two or three hundred people; there is also some from Bristol and other parts of the west-country a preparing, which I heartily pray to God to bless, and send them a happy and prosperous voyage.

NATHANIEL CAUSIE, Master HUTCHINS,
Master FLOUD, JOHN DAVIS, WIL-
LIAM EMERSON, Master WILLIAM
BARNET, Master COOPER, and others.

CHAPTER XXII

*The proceedings and present estate of the
Summer Isles, from Anno Dom. 1624,
to this present 1629.*

FROM the Summer Isles, Mr Ireland and divers others report their forts, ordnance and proceedings, are much as they were in the year 1622 as you may read in the General History, page 199. Captain Woodhouse [is] governor. There are few sorts of any fruits in the West Indies but (they) grow there in abundance ; yet the fertility of the soil in many places decayeth, being planted every year ; for their plantains, which is a most delicate fruit, they have lately found a way by pickling 'or drying them to bring them over into England, there being no such fruit in Europe, and wonderful for increase. For fish, flesh, figs, wine, and all sorts of most excellent herbs, fruits and roots they have in abundance. In this governor's time, a kind of whale, or rather a jubarta, was driven on shore in Southampton tribe from the west, over an infinite

number of rocks, so bruised, that the water in the bay where she lay was all oily, and the rocks about it all bedasht with spermaceti, congealed like ice. A good quantity we gathered, with which we commonly cured any boil, hurt or bruise; some burnt it in their lamps, which blowing out, the very snuff will burn so long as there is any of the oil remaining, for two or three days together.

The next governor was Captain Philip Bell, whose time being expired, Captain Roger Wood possessed his place, a worthy gentleman of good desert, and hath lived a long time in the country; their numbers are about 2 or 3,000 men, women and children, who increase there exceedingly; their greatest complaint is want of apparel, and too much custom, and too many officers; the pity is, there are no more men than women, yet no great mischief, because there is so much less pride: the cattle they have increased exceedingly; their forts are well maintained by the merchants here, and planters there; to be brief, this isle is an excellent bit to rule a great horse.

All the cohow birds and eggbirds are gone, seldom any wild cats seen; no rats to speak of; but the worms are yet very troublesome; the people very healthful, and the ravens gone; fish enough, but not so near the shore as it used, by the much beating it; it is an isle that hath such a rampart and a ditch, and for the quantity so manned, victualled,

and fortified, as few in the world do exceed it, or is like it.

The 22nd of March, two ships came from thence the *Peter Bonaventure*, near 200 tons, and sixteen pieces of ordnance; the captain, Thomas Sherwin; the master, Mr Edward Some, like him in condition, a goodly, lusty, proper, valiant man; and the *Lydia*, wherein was Mr Anthony Thorne, a smaller ship, were chased by eleven ships of Dunkirk; being thus over-matched, Captain Sherwin was taken by them in Torbay, only his valiant master was slain; the ship with about seventy Englishmen they carried betwixt Dover and Calais to Dunkirk; but the *Lydia* safely recovered Dartmouth.

These noble adventurers for all those losses patiently do bear them; but they hope the King and State will understand it is worth keeping, though it afford nothing but tobacco, and that now worth little or nothing, [when] custom and freight [are] payed, yet it is worth keeping, and not supplanting; though great men feel not those losses, yet gardeners, carpenters and smiths, do pay for it.

From the relation of ROBERT
CHESTEVAN and others.

CHAPTER XXIII

The proceedings and present estate of New England, since 1624, to this present 1629.

WHEN I went first to the north part of Virginia, where the westerly colony had been planted, it had dissolved itself within a year and there was not one Christian in all the land. I was set forth at the sole charge of four merchants of London; the country being then reputed by your Westerlings a most rocky, barren, desolate desert; but a good return I brought from thence with the maps and relations I made of the country, which I made so manifest, some of them did believe me, and they were well embraced both by the Londoners¹ and the Westerlings, for whom I had promised to undertake it, I thinking to have joined them all together; but that might well have been a work of Hercules. Betwixt them long there was much contention. The Londoners indeed went bravely forward; but in three

¹ The London Company was formed for South Virginia: the Western Company for North Virginia.

or four years I and my friends consumed many hundred pounds amongst the Plimothians, who only fed me with delays, promises and excuses, but no performance of anything to any purpose. In the interim many particular ships went thither, and finding my relations true, and that I had not taken that I brought home from the Frenchmen, as had been reported; yet farther, for my pains to discredit me, and my calling it New-England, they obscured, and shadowed it, with the title of Canada, till at my humble suit, it pleased our most royal King Charles, whom God long keep, bless and preserve, then Prince of Wales, to confirm it with my map and book, by the title of New-England; the gain thence returning, did make the fame thereof so increase, that thirty, forty, or fifty sail went yearly only to trade and fish; but nothing would be done for a plantation, till about some hundred of your Brownists [i.e. Pilgrim Fathers] of England, Amsterdam and Leyden, went to New Plymouth, whose humorous ignorances, caused them for more than a year to endure a wonderful deal of misery with an infinite patience; saying my books and maps were much better cheap to teach them than myself; many other have used the like good husbandry, that have payed soundly in trying their self-willed conclusions; but those in time doing well, divers others have in small handfals undertaken to go there, to

be several lords and kings of themselves, but most vanished to nothing. Notwithstanding the fishing ships made such good returns, at last it was engrossed by twenty patentees that divided my map into twenty parts, and cast lots for their shares ; but money not coming in as they expected, procured a proclamation, none should go thither without their licences to fish ; but for every thirty tons of shipping to pay them five pounds ; besides, upon great penalties, neither to trade with the natives, cut down wood for the stages, without giving satisfaction, though all the country is nothing but wood and none to make use of it, with many such other pretences, for to make this country plant itself, by its own wealth. Hereupon most men grew so discontented that few or none would go ; so that the patentees, who never a one of them had been there, seeing those projects would not prevail have since not hindred any to go that would, that within these few last years more have gone thither than ever.

Now this year 1629, a great company of people of good rank, zeal, means and quality, have made a great stock, and with six good ships in the months of April and May they set sail from Thames, for the bay of the Massachusetts, otherwise called Charles's river, viz. the *George Bonaventure*, of twenty pieces of ordnance, the *Talbot* nineteen, the *Lion's-whelp* eight, the *Mayflower*,

fourteen, the *Four Sisters* fourteen, the *Pilgrim* four, with three hundred and fifty men, women and children; also an hundred and fifteen head of cattle, as horse, mares, and neat beast; one and forty goats, some conies, with all provision for household and apparel; six pieces of great ordnance for a fort, with muskets, pikes, corslets, drums, colours, with all provision necessary for a plantation, for the good of man; other particulars I understand of no more than is writ in the general history of those countries.

But you are to understand, that the noble Lord Chief Justice Popham, Judge Doderge, the Right Honourable Earls of Pembroke, Southampton, Salisbury, and the rest, as I take it, they did all think as I and they that went with me, did; that, had those two countries been planted as it was intended, no other nation should complant betwixt us. If ever the King of Spain and we should fall foul, those countries being so capable of all materials for shipping, by this might have been owners of a good fleet of ships and have relieved a whole navy from England upon occasion; yea, and have furnished England with the most easternly commodities. And now since, seeing how conveniently the Summer Isles fell to our shares so near the West Indies, we might with much more facility than the Dutchmen have invaded the West Indies,

that doth now put in practice, what so long hath been advised on by many an honest English statesman.

Those countries, Captain Smith oft times used to call his children that never had mother ; and well he might, for few fathers ever payed dearer for so little content ; and for those that would truly understand, how many strange accidents hath befallen them and him ; how oft up, how oft down, sometimes near despair, and ere long flourishing, cannot but conceive God's infinite mercies and favours towards them. Had his designs been to have persuaded men to a mine of gold, though few do conceive either the charge or pains in refining it, nor the power nor care to defend it ; or some new invention to pass to the South Sea, or some strange plot to invade some strange monastery, or some portable country, or some chargable fleet to take some rich caracks in the East Indies ; or letters of marque to rob some poor merchants ; what multitudes of both people and money would contend to be first employed ? But in those noble endeavours (now) how few of quality, unless it be to beg some monopoly ; and those seldom seek the common good, but the commons goods, as you may read at large in his [Smith's] General History [of Virginia], pages 217, 218, 219, his general observations and reasons for this plantation ; for yet those countries are not so forward but they

may become as miserable as ever if better courses be not taken than are ; as this Smith will plainly demonstrate to His Majesty, or any other noble person of ability, liable generously to undertake it ; how within a short time to make Virginia able to resist any enemy, that as yet lieth open to all, and yield the king more custom within these few years, in certain staple commodities, than ever it did in tobacco ; which now not being worth bringing home, the custom will be as uncertain to the king as dangerous to the plantations.

CHAPTER XXIV

A brief discourse of divers voyages made unto the goodly country of Guiana, and the great rivers of the Amazons ; relating also the present plantation there.

It is not unknown how that most industrious and honourable knight, Sir Walter Raleigh, in the year of our Lord 1595, taking the Isle of Trinidad, fell with the coast of Guiana northward of the line ten degrees, and coasted the coast, and searched up the river Orinoco ; where understanding that twenty several voyages had been made by the Spaniards, in discovering this coast and river, to find a passage to the great city of Manoa, called by them the Eldorado, or the golden city ; he did his utmost to have found some better satisfaction than relations ; but means failing him, he left his trusty servant Francis Sparrow to seek it, who wandering up and down those countries, some fourteen or fifteen years, unexpectedly returned. I have heard him say he was led blinded into

this city by Indians ; but little discourse of any purpose, touching the largeness of the report of it. His body seeming as a man of an uncurable consumption, shortly died here after in England. There are above thirty fair rivers that fall into the sea between the river of the Amazons and Orinoco, which are some nine degrees asunder. In the year 1605, Captain Ley, brother to that noble knight, Sir Oliver Ley, with divers others, planted himself in the river Weapoco, wherein I should have been a party ; but he died and there lies buried, and the supply miscarrying, the rest escaped as they could.

Sir Thomas Roe, well known to be a most noble gentleman, before he went Lord Ambassador to the Great Mogul, or the Great Turk, spent a year or two upon this coast, and about the river of the Amazons, wherein he most employed Captain Matthew Morton an expert seaman in the discovery of this famous river, a gentleman that was the first shot ; and mortally supposed wounded to death with me in Virginia, yet since hath been twice with command in the East Indies. Also Captain William White, and divers other worthy and industrious gentlemen, both before and since, have spent much time and charge to discover it more perfectly, but nothing more effected for a plantation, till it was undertaken by Captain Robert Harcote, 1609.

This worthy gentleman, after he had by

commission made a discovery to his mind, left his brother Michael Harcote with some fifty or sixty men in the river Weapoco, and so presently returned to England, where he obtained by the favour of Prince Henry a large patent for all that coast called Guiana, together with the famous river of Amazons, to him and his heirs. But so many troubles here surprised him, though he did his best to supply them, he was not able, only some few he sent over as passengers, with certain Dutchmen, but to small purpose. Thus this business lay dead for divers years, till Sir Walter Raleigh, accompanied with many valiant soldiers and brave gentlemen, went his last voyage to Guiana, amongst the which was Captain Roger North, brother to the Right Honourable the Lord Dudley North, who upon this voyage having stayed and seen divers rivers upon this coast, took such a liking to those countries, having had before this voyage, more perfect and particular information of the excellency of the great river of the Amazons above any of the rest, by certain Englishmen returned so rich from thence in good commodities, they would not go with Sir Walter Raleigh in search of gold ; that after his return for England, he endeavoured by his best abilities to interest his country and state in those fair regions, which by the way of letters patents unto divers noblemen and gentlemen of quality was erected into a company and perpetuity

for trade and plantation, not knowing of the interest of Captain Harcote.

Whereupon, accompanied with 120 gentlemen and others, with a ship, a pinnace and two shallops to remain in the country, he set sail from Plymouth the last of April 1620, and within seven weeks after he arrived well in the Amazons, only with the loss of one old man. Some hundred leagues they ran up the river to settle his men, where the sight of the country and people so contented them that never men thought themselves more happy. Some English and Irish that had lived there some eight years, only supplied by the Dutch, he reduced to his company and induced them to leave the Dutch. Having made a good voyage to the value of more than the charge, he returned to England with divers good commodities besides tobacco; so that it may well be conceived, that if this action had not been thus crossed, the generality of England had by this time been won and encouraged therein. But the time was not yet come that God would have this great business effected, by reason of the great power the Lord Gundamore, ambassador for the King of Spain, had in England, to cross and ruin those proceedings; and so unfortunate Captain North was in this business [that] he was twice committed prisoner to the Tower, and the goods detained till they were spoiled, who beyond all others was (by) the much greatest adventurer and loser.

Notwithstanding all this, those that he had left in the Amazons would not abandon the country. Captain Thomas Painton, a worthy gentleman, his lieutenant, died. Captain Charles Parker, brother to the Right Honourable the Lord Morley, lived there six years after : Mr John Christmas five years, so well they would not return, although they might, with divers other gentlemen of quality and others. All thus destitute of any supplies from England. But all authority being dissolved, want of government did more wrong their proceedings than all other crosses whatsoever. Some relief they had sometime from the Dutch, who knowing their estates gave what they pleased, and took what they list. Two brothers, gentlemen, Thomas and William Hixon, who stayed three years there, are now gone to stay in the Amazons, in the ships lately sent thither.

The business thus remaining in this sort, three private men left of that company, named Mr Thomas Warriner, John Rhodes, and Robert Bims, having lived there about two years came for England, and to be free from the disorders that did grow in the Amazons, for want of government amongst their countrymen, and to be quiet amongst themselves, made means to set themselves out for St Christopher ; their whole number being but fifteen persons that paid for their passage in a ship going for Virginia,

where they remained a year before they were supplied, and then that was but four or five men. Thus this isle, by this small beginning, having no interruption by their own country, hath not got the start of the continent and main land of Guiana, which hath been laid apart and let alone until that Captain North, ever watching his best opportunity and advantage of time in the state, hath now again pursued, and set on foot his former design : Captain Harcote being now willing to surrender his grant, and to join with Captain North in passing a new patent, and to erect a company for trade and plantation in the Amazons, and all the coast and country of Guiana for ever. Whereupon, they have sent this present year in January, and since 1628, four ships with near 200 persons ; the first ship with 112 men not one miscarried ; the rest went since, not yet heard of ; and they are preparing another with their best expedition ; and since January are gone from Holland, 100 English and Irish, conducted by the old planters.

This great river lieth under the line ; the two chief headlands north and south are about three degrees asunder, the mouth of it is so full of many great and small isles, it is an easy matter for an unexperienced pilot to lose his way. It is held one of the greatest rivers in America, and as most men think, in the world ; and cometh down with such a fresh, it maketh the sea fresh more

than thirty miles from the shore. Captain North having seated his men about 100 leagues in the main, sent Captain William White with thirty gentlemen and others, in a pinnace of thirty ton, to discover farther, which they did some 200 leagues, where they found the river to divide itself into two parts, till then all full of islands, and a country most healthful, pleasant and fruitful: for they found food enough, and all returned safe and in good health. In this discovery, they saw many towns well inhabited, some with three hundred people, some with five, six, or seven hundred: and of some they understood to be of so many thousands, most differing very much, especially in their languages. Whereof they suppose by those Indians, they understand are many hundreds more, unfrequented till then by any Christians, most of them stark naked, both men, women and children, but they saw not any such giant-like women as the rivers name importeth. But for those where Captain North had seated his company, it is not known where Indians were ever so kind to any nation, not sparing any pains, danger or labour, to feed and maintain them. The English following their buildings, fortifications and sugar works: for which they have sent most expert men, and with them all things necessary for that purpose; to effect which, they want not the help of those kind Indians to produce; and many other good

commodities, which (God willing) will ere long make plain and apparent to this kingdom, and all the adventurers and well-willers to this plantation, to be well worthy the cherishing and following with all alacrity.

CHAPTER XXV

The beginning and proceedings of the new plantation of St Christopher by Captain Warner.

MASTER RALPH MARIFIELD and otheis, having furnished this worthy industrious gentleman, he arrived at St Christopher, as is said, with fifteen men, the 28th of January, 1623, viz., William Tested, John Rhodes, Robert Bims, Mr Benifield, Sergeant Jones, Mr Ware, William Ryle, Rowland Grascoock, Mr Bond, Mr Langley, Mr Weaver, Edward Warner, their captain's son, and now Deputy Governor till his father's return, Sergeant Aplon, one sailor and a cook. At their arrival, they found three Frenchmen, who sought to oppose Captain Warner, and to set the Indians upon us ; but at last we all became friends, and lived with the Indians a month, then we built a fort, and a house ; and planting fruits, by September we made a crop of tobacco ; but upon the 19th of September came a hurricane and blew it away. All

this while we lived upon cassado bread, potatoes, plantains, pines, turtles, guanes, and fish in plenty; for drink we had nick-nobby.

The 18th of March, 1624, Captain Jefferson arrived with three men passengers, in the *Hopewell* of London, with some trade for the Indians, and then we had another crop of tobacco, in the meantime the French had planted themselves in the other end of the isle. With this crop Captain Warner returned for England in September 1625.

In his absence came in a French pinnace under the command of Monsieur de Nombe, that told us the Indians had slain some Frenchmen in other of the Caribbee Isles and that there were six periaguaes, which are huge great trees, formed as your canoes, but so laid out on the sides with boards, they will seem like a little galley. Six of those, with about four or five hundred strange Indians came unto us. We bade them be gone, but they would not, whereupon we and the French joined together, and upon the 5th of November set upon them, and put them to flight. Upon New Year's even they came again, found three Englishmen going about the isle, whom they slew.

Until the 4th of August, we stood upon our guard, living upon the spoil, and did nothing. But now Captain Warner arriving again with near an hundred people we fell to work and planting as before: but

upon the 4th of September came such a hurricane, as blew down all our houses, tobacco, and two drums into the air we know not whither—drove two ships on shore that were both split. All our provision thus lost, we were very miserable. Living only on what we could get in the wild woods, we made a small party of French and English to go abroad for provision, but in their returning home eight Frenchmen were slain in the harbour.

Thus we continued till near June that the Turks came in 1627, but the French being like to starve, sought to surprise us, and all the cassado, potatoes, and tobacco we had planted, but we did prevent them. The 26th of October—came in Captain William Smith, in the *Hopewell*, with some ordnance, shot and powder, from the Earl of Carlisle, with Captain Pelham and thirty men; about that time also came the *Plow*, also a small ship of Bristol with Captain Warner's wife, and six or seven women more.

Upon the 25th of November the Indians set upon the French, for some injury about their women, and slew six and twenty Frenchmen, five English, and three Indians. Their weapons are bows and arrows. Their bows are never bent, but the string lies flat to the bow; their arrows a small reed, four or five foot long, headed some with the poisoned sting of the tail of a stingray, some with iron, some with wood, but all so poisoned,

that if they draw but blood, the hurt is incurable.

The next day came in Captain Charles Saltonstall, a young gentleman, son to Sir Samuel Saltonstall, who brought with him good store of all commodities to relieve the plantation ; but by reason some Hollanders and others had been there lately before him, who carried away with them all the tobacco, he was forced to put away all his commodities upon trust till the next crop ; in the meantime he resolved there to stay, and employ himself and his company in planting tobacco, hoping thereby to make a voyage, but before he could be ready to return for England a hurricane happening, his ship was split, to his great loss, being sole merchant and owner himself, notwithstanding forced to pay to the governor the fifth part of his tobacco, and for freight to England three pence a pound, and nine pence a pound custom, which amounts together to more than threescore pound in the hundred pound, to the great discouragement of him and many others, that intended well to those plantations. Nevertheless he is gone again this present year, 1629, with a ship of about three hundred tons, and very near two hundred people, with Sir William Tuffton, Governor for the Barbadoes, and divers gentlemen, and all manner of commodities fit for a plantation.

Captain Prinn, Captain Stone, and divers

others came in about Christmas; so that this last year, there hath been about thirty sail of English, French and Dutch ships, and all the Indians forced out of the isle, for they had done much mischief amongst the French, in cutting their throats, burning their houses, and spoiling their tobacco; amongst the rest Tegramund, a little child, the king's son, his parents being slain or fled, was by great chance saved and carefully brought to England, by Master Merifield, who brought him from thence, and bringeth him up as his own children.

It lieth seventeen degrees northward of the line, about an hundred and twenty leagues from the Cape de tres Puntas [Cape de Paria] the nearest main land in America; it is about eight leagues in length, and four in breadth; an island amongst 100 isles in the West Indies, called the Caribbees, where ordinarily all them that frequent the West Indies refresh themselves; those, most of them are rocky, little and mountainous, yet frequented with the cannibals; many of them inhabited, as Dominica, St Mattalin [Martinique?] St Lucia, St Vincent, Grenada and Margarita, to the southward; northward, none but St Christopher, and that but lately; yet they will be ranging Mariegalante, Guadaloupe, Deceado, [Désirade?] Montserrat, Antigua, Nevis, Bernardo, St Martin and St Bartholomew, but the worst of the four isles possessed by the

Spaniard, as Porto Rico or Jamaica, is better than them all ; as for San Domingo and Cuba, they are worthy the title of two rich kingdoms, the rest not respected by the Spaniards, for want of harbours, and their better choice of good land, and profit in the main[land]. But Captain Warner having been very familiar with Captain Painton in the Amazon, hearing his information of this St Christopher, and having made a year's trial, as it is said, returned for England, and joining with Master Merifield and his friends got letters patents from King James to plant and possess it. Since then the Right Honourable the Earl of Carlisle hath got letters patents also, not only of that, but all the Caribbee Isles about it, who is now chief lord of them, and the English his tenants that do possess them ; over whom he appointeth such governors and officers as their affairs require ; and although there be a great custom imposed upon them, considering their other charges both to feed and maintain themselves yet there is there and now a going, near upon the number of three thousand people ; where by reason of the rockiness and thickness of the woods in the isle it is difficult to pass, and such a surf of the sea goeth on the shore, ten may better defend than fifty assault. In this isle are many springs, but yet water is scarce again in many places ; the valleys and sides of the hills very fertile, but the mountains

harsh, and of a sulphurous composition : all over-grown with palmettoe, cotton trees, *lignum vitæ*, and divers other sorts, but none like any in Christendom, except those carried thither ; the air very pleasant and healthful, but exceeding hot, yet so tempered with cool breaths, it seems very temperate to them that are little used to it ; the trees being always green, the days and nights always very near equal in length, always summer ; only they have in their seasons great gusts and rains, and sometimes a hurricane, which is an over-grown, and a most violent storm.

In some of those isles, are cattle, goats and hogs, but here none but what they must carry. Guanoes they have, which is a little harmless beast, like a crocodile or aligator, very fat and good meat. She lays eggs in the sand as doth the land crabs, which live here in abundance like conies in burrows, unless about May, when they come down to the sea-side to lay in the sand, as the other ; and all their eggs are hatched by the heat of the sun.

From May to September they have good store of tortoises that come out of the sea to lay their eggs in the sand, and are hatched as the other ; they will lay half a peck at a time, and near a bushel ere they have done, and are round like tennis-balls. This fish is like veal in taste, the fat of a brownish colour, very good and wholesome. We

seek them in the nights. Where we find them on shore we turn them upon their backs, till the next day we fetch them home, for they can never return themselves ; being so hard, a cart may go over them ; and so big, one will suffice forty or fifty men to dinner. Divers sorts of other fish they have in abundance, and prawns most great and excellent, but none will keep sweet scarce twelve hours.

The best and greatest [bird] is a Passer Flamingo, which walking at her length, is as tall as a man ; pigeons and turtle-doves in abundance ; some parrots, wild hawks, but divers other sorts of good sea-fowl, whose names we know not.

Cassado is a root planted in the ground, of a wonderful increase, and will make very good white bread, but the juice rank poison, yet boiled, better than wine ; potatoes, cabbages and radishes plenty.

Maize, like the Virginia wheat ; we have pine-apple near so big as an artichoke, but the most daintiest taste of any fruit ; plantains, an excellent and most increasing fruit ; apples, prickly-pears and peas, but differing from all ours. There is pepper that groweth in a little red husk, as big as a walnut, about four inches in length, but the long cods are small, and much stronger and better for use, than that from the East Indies. There is two sorts of cotton ; the silk-cotton, as in the East Indies, groweth upon a small

stalk, as good for beds as down : the other upon a shrub, and beareth a cod bigger than a walnut, full of cotton-wool. Anotto also groweth upon a shrub, with a cod like the other, and nine or ten on a bunch, full of anotto, very good for dyers, though wild ; sugar-canes, not tame, four or five foot high ; also mastic and locust-trees ; great and hard timber, gourds, musk-melons, water-melons, lettuce, parsley ; all places naturally bear purslain of itself ; soap berries like a musket bullet, that washeth as white as soap ; in the middle of the root is a thing like a sedge, a very good fruit, we call ' pengromes ' ; a papaw is as great as an apple, coloured like an orange, and good to eat ; a small hard nut, like a hazel-nut, grows close to the ground, and like this grows on the palmetas, which we call a ' mucca-nut ' : mustard-seed will grow to a great tree, but bears no seed, yet the leaves will make good mustard ; the mancinel tree, the fruit is poison ; good figs in abundance. But the palmetto serveth to build forts and houses, the leaves to cover them, and many other uses ; the juice we draw from them till we suck them to death, it is held restorative, and the top for meat doth serve us as cabbage ; but oft we want powdered beef and bacon, and many other needful necessities.

By THOMAS SIMONS, ROWLAND
GRASCOCK, NICHOLAS BURGH,
and others.

CHAPTER XXVI

The first planting of the Barbadoes.

THE Barbadoes lies south-west and by south an hundred leagues from St Christopher, threescore leagues west and south from Trinidad, and some fourscore leagues from Cape de Salinos, the next part of the main. The first planters brought thither by Captain Henry Powel were forty English, with seven or eight negroes ; then he went to Disacuba in the main, where he got thirty Indians, men, women and children of the Arawacos, enemies both to the Caribbees and the Spaniard. The isle is most like a triangle, each side forty or fifty miles square, some exceeding great rocks, but the most part exceeding good ground, abounding with an infinite number of swine, some turtles, and many sorts of excellent fish ; many great ponds wherein is duck and mallard ; excellent clay for pots, wood and stone for building, and a spring, near the midst of the isle, bitume, which is a liquid mixture like tar,

that by the great rains falls from the tops of the mountains ; it floats upon the water in such abundance, that drying up, it remains like great rocks of pitch, and as good as pitch for any use.

The mancinel apple is of a most pleasant sweet smell, of the bigness of a crab, but rank poison, yet the swine and birds have wit to shun it ; great store of exceeding great locust-trees, two or three fathom about, of a great height, that beareth a cod full of meal, will make bread in time of necessity. A tree like a pine beareth a fruit so great as a musk-melon, which hath always ripe fruit, flowers or green fruit, which will refresh two or three men, and very comfortable ; plum-trees many, the fruit great and yellow, which but strained into water, in four and twenty hours will be very good drink ; wild fig-trees there are many ; all those fruits do fat the hogs, yet at sometimes of the year they are so lean as carrion ; guane trees bear a fruit so big as a pear, good and wholesome ; palmetoes of three several sorts ; papaws, prickly-pears good to eat or make drink ; cedar trees very tall and great ; fustick [fustet ?] trees are very great, and the wood yellow, good for dyeing ; soap berries, the kernel so big as a sloe and good to eat ; pompions in abundance ; gourds so great as will make good great bottles, and cut in two pieces, good dishes and platters ; many small brooks of very good

water ; Guinea wheat, cassado, pines and plantains ; all things we there plant do grow exceedingly, so well as tobacco ; the corn, peas, and beans, cut but away the stalk young sprigs will grow, and so bear fruit for many years together, without any more planting : the isle is overgrown with wood or great reeds, those woods which are soft are exceedingly light and full of pitch, and those that are hard and great, they are as hard to cut as stone.

Mr John Powel came thither the 4th of August 1627, with forty-five men, where we stayed three weeks, and then returning, left behind us about an hundred people, and his son John Powel for his deputy, as governor ; but there have been so many factions amongst them I cannot from so many variable relations give you any certainty for their orderly government. For all those plenties, much misery they have endured in regard of their weakness at their landing and long stay without supplies ; therefore those that go thither, it were good they carry good provision with them ; but the isle is most healthful, and all things planted do increase abundantly ; and by this time there is, and now a going, about the number of fifteen or sixteen hundred people.

Sir William Curtine, and Captain John Powel were the first and chief adventurers to the planting this fortunate isle ; which

had been oft frequented by men-of-war to refresh themselves, and set up their shal-
lopes ; being so far remote from the rest
of the isles, they never were troubled with
any of the Indians. Harbours they have
none, but exceeding good roads, which with
a small charge might be very well fortified ;
it [the tide] doth ebb and flow four or five
foot, and they cannot perceive that there
hath ever been any hurricane in that isle.

From the relations of Cap-
tain JOHN WHITE, and Cap-
tain WOLVERSTONE.

CHAPTER XXVII

The first plantations of the Isle of Nevis.

BECAUSE I have ranged and lived amongst those islands what my authors cannot tell me I think it no great error in helping them to tell it myself. In this little Isle of Nevis, more than twenty years ago, I have remained a great time together, to wood and water, and refresh my men ; it is all woody, but by the sea-side southward there are sands like downs, where a thousand men may quarter themselves conveniently ; but in most places the wood groweth close to the water-side at a high water mark, and in some places so thick of a soft spungy wood like a wild fig-tree, you cannot get through it, but by making your way with hatchets or falchions. Whether it was the dew of those trees, or of some others, I am not certain, but many of our men became so tormented with a burning swelling all over their bodies they seemed like scalded men, and near mad with pain ; here we found a

great pool, wherein bathing themselves they found much ease ; and finding it fed with a pleasant small stream that came out of the woods, we found the head half a mile within the land distilling from many rocks, by which they were well cured in two or three days. Such factions here we had, as commonly attend such voyages, that a pair of gallows were made, but Captain Smith for whom they were intended, could not be persuaded to use them ; but not any one of the inventors, but their lives by justice fell into his power to determine of at his pleasure, whom with much mercy he favoured, that most basely and unjustly have betrayed him.

The last year 1628, Mr Littleton with some others, got a patent of the Earl of Carlisle to plant the isle called the Barbadoes, thirty leagues northward of St Christopher ; which by report of their informers and undertakers, for the excellency of the pleasantness thereof, they called *Dulcina*, but when they came there they found it such a barren rock they left it ; although they were told as much before, they would not believe it ; persuading themselves those contradicters would get it for themselves, they were thus by their cunning opinion the deceivers of themselves ; for seeing it lie conveniently for their purpose in a map they had not patience to know the goodness or badness, the inconvenience or proba-

bility of the quantity or quality; which error doth predominate in most of our home bred adventurers, that will have all things as they conceit and would have it; and the more they are contradicted, the more hot they are; but you may see by many examples in the General History, how difficult a matter it is to gather the truth from amongst so many foreign and several relations, except you have exceeding good experience both of the countries, people and their conditions; and those ignorant undertakings have been the greatest hindrance of all those plantations.

At last, because they would be absolute, they came to Nevis, a little isle by St Christopher; where they seated themselves, well furnished with all necessaries, being about the number of an hundred, and since increased to an hundred and fifty persons, whereof many were old planters of St Christopher, especially Mr Anthony Hinton, and Mr Edward Thompson. But because all those isles for the most part are so capable to produce, and in nature like each other, let this discourse serve for the description of them all. Thus much concerning those plantations, which now after all this time, loss and charge, should they be abandoned, suppressed and dissolved, were most lamentable; and surely seeing they all strive so much about this tobacco, and that the freight thereof, and other charges are so

great, and so open to any enemy by that commodity, they cannot long subsist.

And it is a wonder to me to see such miracles and mischiefs in men; how greedily they pursue to dispossess the planters of the name of Christ Jesus, yet say they are Christians, when so much of the world is unpossessed; yea, and better land than they so much strive for, murdering so many Christians, burning and spoiling so many cities, villages and countries, and subverting so many kingdoms, when so much lieth waste or only possessed by a few poor savages, that more serve the devil for fear, than God for love; whose ignorance we pretend to reform, but covetousness, humours, ambition, faction and pride hath so many instruments, we perform very little to any purpose; nor is there either honour or profit to be got by any that are so vile, to undertake the subversion, or hindrance of any honest intended Christian plantation.

Now to conclude the travels and adventures of Captain Smith; how first he planted Virginia, and was set ashore with about an hundred men in the wild woods; how he was taken prisoner by the savages, by the king of Pamunkey, tied to a tree to be shot to death; led up and down their country to be showed for a wonder; fatted, as he thought, for a sacrifice for their idol, before whom they conjured him three days, with strange dances and invocations, then brought

him before their emperor Powhatan, that commanded him to be slain; how his daughter Pocahontas saves his life, returned him to James Town, relieved him and his famished company (which was but eight and thirty to possess those large dominions); how he discovered all the several nations upon the rivers falling into the bay of Chesapeake; stung near to death with a most poisoned tail of a fish called stingray; how Powhatan out of country took the kings of Pamunkey and Paspahugh prisoners; forced thirty-nine of those kings to pay him contribution; subjected all the savages; how Smith was blown up with gun-powder, and returned for England to be cured.

Also how he brought our New England to the subjection of the Kingdom of Great Britain; his fights with the pirates, left alone amongst a many French men-of-war, and his ship ran from him; his sea-fights for the French against the Spaniards; their bad usage of him; how in France in a little boat he escaped them; was adrift all such a stormy night at sea by himself, when thirteen French ships were split or driven on shore by the Isle of Ree, the General and most of his men drowned, when God, to whom be all honour and praise, brought him safe on shore to all their admirations that escaped; you may read at large in his General History of Virginia, the Summer Isles and New England.

CHAPTER XXVIII

The bad life, qualities and conditions of pirates ; and how they taught the Turks and Moors to become men-of-war.

As in all lands where there are many people there are some thieves, so in all seas much frequented there are some pirates ; the most ancient within the memory of three-score years, was one Callis, who most refreshed himself upon the coast of Wales ; Clinton and Purser his companions, who grew famous till Queen Elizabeth of blessed memory hanged them at Wapping. Fleming was as expert and as much sought for as they, yet such a friend to his country, that discovering the Spanish Armada, he voluntarily came to Plymouth, yielded himself freely to my lord admiral, and gave him notice of the Spaniards coming ; which good warning came so happily and unexpectedly that he had his pardon, and a good reward ; some few pirates there then remained, notwithstanding it is incredible how many great and rich prizes the little barques

of the west country daily brought home, in regard of their small charge; for there are so many difficulties in a great navy, by wind and weather, victual, sickness, losing and finding one another, they seldom defray half the charge. But for the grace, state and defence of the coast and narrow seas, a great navy is most necessary, but not to attempt any far voyage, except there be such a competent stock, they want not wherewith to furnish and supply all things with expedition. But to the purpose.

After the death of our most gracious Queen Elizabeth, of blessed memory, our royal King James, who from his infancy had reigned in peace with all nations, had no employment for those men-of-war, so that those that were rich rested with that they had; those that were poor, and had nothing but from hand to mouth, turned pirates; some, because they became slighted of those for whom they had got much wealth; some for that they could not get their due; some that had lived bravely, would not abase themselves to poverty; some vainly, only to get a name; others for revenge, covetousness, or as ill; and as they found themselves more and more oppressed, their passions increasing with discontent, made them turn pirates.

Now because they grew hateful to all Christian princes, they retired to Barbary, where although there be not many good

harbours, but Tunis, Algiers, Sally [in Calle?], Mamora, and Tituan, there are many convenient roads, or the open sea, which is their chief lordship. For their best harbours Massalquebar, the towns of Oran, Mellila, Tangier, and Ceuta, within the straits, are possessed by the Spaniards; without the straits they have also Arzella and Masagan; Mamora they have likewise lately taken and fortified. Ward, a poor English sailor, and Dansker a Dutchman, made first here their marts, when the Moors knew scarce how to sail a ship; Bishop was ancient and did little hurt; but Easton got so much as made himself a marquess in Savoy; and Ward lived like a pasha in Barbary; those were the first that taught the Moors to be men-of-war. Gennings, Harris, Tompson, and divers others were taken in Ireland, a coast they much frequented, and died at Wapping. Haws, Bough, Smith, Walsingham, Ellis, Collins, Sawkwel, Wollingstone, Barrow, Wilson, Sayres, and divers others, (all these) were captains amongst the pirates, whom King James mercifully pardoned. And was it not strange, a few of those should command the seas? - Notwithstanding the Maltese, the Pope, Florentines, Genoese, French, Dutch and English gallies and men-of-war, they would rob before their faces, and even at their own ports, yet [the pirates were] seldom more than three, four, five or six in a

fleet. Many times they had very good ships, and well manned, but commonly in such factions amongst themselves, and so riotous, quarrelsome, treacherous, blasphemous and villainous, it is more than a wonder they could so long continue to do so much mischief ; and all they got they basely consumed (it) amongst Jews, Turks, Moors and whores.

The best was, they would seldom go to sea so long as they could possibly live on shore, being composed of English, French, Dutch and Moors, (but very few Spaniards or Italians) commonly running one from another, till they became so disjointed, disordered, debauched and miserable, that the Turks and Moors began to command them as slaves, and force them to instruct them in their best skill ; which many an accursed renegade or Christian turned Turk did, till they have made those Sallymen or Moors of Barbary so powerful as they be, to the terror of all the Straits ; and many times they take purchase in the main ocean, yea, sometimes in the narrow seas in England, and those are the most cruel villains in Turkey or Barbary, whose natives are very noble and of good natures, in comparison to them.

To conclude, the misery of a pirate, (although many are sufficient seamen as any) yet in regard of its superfluity, you shall find it such, that any wise man would rather live amongst wild beasts, than [with] them ;

therefore let all unadvised persons take heed how they entertain that quality. And I could wish merchants, gentlemen, and all setters forth of ships not to be sparing of a competent pay, nor true payment; for neither soldiers nor seamen can live without means, but necessity will force them to steal; and when they are once entered into that trade, they are hardly reclaimed. Those titles of seamen and soldiers, have been most worthily honoured and esteemed, but now regarded for the most part (but) as the scum of the world. Regain therefore your wonted reputations, and endeavour rather to adventure to those fair plantations of our English nation; which however in the beginning were scorned [and] contemned, yet now (you see how) many rich and gallant people come from thence, who went thither as poor as any soldier or sailor, and gets more in one year, than you by piracy in seven. I entreat you therefore to consider how many thousands yearly go thither; also how many ships and sailors are employed to transport them, and what custom they yearly pay to our most royal King Charles, whose prosperity and his kingdom's good, I humbly beseech the immortal God to preserve and increase.

CHAPTER XXVIII

The bad life, qualities and conditions of pirates ; and how they taught the Turks and Moors to become men-of-war.

As in all lands where there are many people there are some thieves, so in all seas much frequented there are some pirates ; the most ancient within the memory of three-score years, was one Callis, who most refreshed himself upon the coast of Wales ; Clinton and Purser his companions, who grew famous till Queen Elizabeth of blessed memory hanged them at Wapping. Fleming was as expert and as much sought for as they, yet such a friend to his country, that discovering the Spanish Armada, he voluntarily came to Plymouth, yielded himself freely to my lord admiral, and gave him notice of the Spaniards coming ; which good warning came so happily and unexpectedly that he had his pardon, and a good reward ; some few pirates there then remained, notwithstanding it is incredible how many great and rich prizes the little barques

of the west country daily brought home, in regard of their small charge; for there are so many difficulties in a great navy, by wind and weather, victual, sickness, losing and finding one another, they seldom defray half the charge. But for the grace, state and defence of the coast and narrow seas, a great navy is most necessary, but not to attempt any far voyage, except there be such a competent stock, they want not wherewith to furnish and supply all things with expedition. But to the purpose.

After the death of our most gracious Queen Elizabeth, of blessed memory, our royal King James, who from his infancy had reigned in peace with all nations, had no employment for those men-of-war, so that those that were rich rested with that they had; those that were poor, and had nothing but from hand to mouth, turned pirates; some, because they became slighted of those for whom they had got much wealth; some for that they could not get their due; some that had lived bravely, would not abase themselves to poverty; some vainly, only to get a name; others for revenge, covetousness, or as ill; and as they found themselves more and more oppressed, their passions increasing with discontent, made them turn pirates.

Now because they grew hateful to all Christian princes, they retired to Barbary, where although there be not many good

harbours, but Tunis, Algiers, Sally [in Calle?], Mamora, and Tituan, there are many convenient roads, or the open sea, which is their chief lordship. For their best harbours Massalquebar, the towns of Oran, Mellila, Tangier, and Ceuta, within the straits, are possessed by the Spaniards; without the straits they have also Arzella and Masagan; Mamora they have likewise lately taken and fortified. Ward, a poor English sailor, and Dansker a Dutchman, made first here their marts, when the Moors knew scarce how to sail a ship; Bishop was ancient and did little hurt; but Easton got so much as made himself a marquess in Savoy; and Ward lived like a pasha in Barbary; those were the first that taught the Moors to be men-of-war. Gennings, Harris, Tompson, and divers others were taken in Ireland, a coast they much frequented, and died at Wapping. Haws, Bough, Smith, Walsingham, Ellis, Collins, Sawkwel, Wollingstone, Barrow, Wilson, Sayres, and divers others, (all these) were captains amongst the pirates, whom King James mercifully pardoned. And was it not strange, a few of those should command the seas? - Notwithstanding the Maltese, the Pope, Florentines, Genoese, French, Dutch and English gallies and men-of-war, they would rob before their faces, and even at their own ports, yet [the pirates were] seldom more than three, four, five or six in a

fleet. Many times they had very good ships, and well manned, but commonly in such factions amongst themselves, and so riotous, quarrelsome, treacherous, blasphemous and villainous, it is more than a wonder they could so long continue to do so much mischief ; and all they got they basely consumed (it) amongst Jews, Turks, Moors and whores.

The best was, they would seldom go to sea so long as they could possibly live on shore, being composed of English, French, Dutch and Moors, (but very few Spaniards or Italians) commonly running one from another, till they became so disjointed, disordered, debauched and miserable, that the Turks and Moors began to command them as slaves, and force them to instruct them in their best skill ; which many an accursed renegade or Christian turned Turk did, till they have made those Sallymen or Moors of Barbary so powerful as they be, to the terror of all the Straits ; and many times they take purchase in the main ocean, yea, sometimes in the narrow seas in England, and those are the most cruel villains in Turkey or Barbary, whose natives are very noble and of good natures, in comparison to them.

To conclude, the misery of a pirate, (although many are sufficient seamen as any) yet in regard of its superfluity, you shall find it such, that any wise man would rather live amongst wild beasts, than [with] them ;